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POLICY OF GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO THE COLONIES.

It was not to be supposed that the planters in the British West Indies would allow the alteration in the sugar duties to pass without observation; though it is a well-ascertained fact, that the West India Committee, which professedly represents them, did nothing to prevent it from taking place, but, on the contrary, acceded to it on some private understanding with the Government.

The memorials and resolutions which have been transmitted to Her Majesty from Jamaica, Antigua, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, embrace a variety of particulars, some of them, as usual, exaggerated in the highest degree; some of them absolutely untrue; and others only partially so. They contain, however, some facts of grave importance, which entitle them to serious consideration. We allude especially to the restrictive commercial policy of this country in relation to the British colonies; and the large expenditure which the Government have sanctioned of late years, for all manner of purposes, whether legitimate or otherwise, in these colonies. We have been the advocates of the most liberal policy towards the colonies; but whilst we have been anxious to secure a legitimate sphere of action for the predominant classes there, we have been equally determined that, so far as we could prevent it, they should not trench on the rights and privileges of the emancipated Negroes.

It would be impossible, in the present *Reporter*, to lay before our readers the whole of the documents now before us; we must, therefore, content ourselves with a brief analysis of them.

JAMAICA.

The Jamaica memorialists give, what they regard as a detailed account of their "wrongs." The first of these was the abolition of the slave-trade!—"This," say they, "was the first check to the hitherto extending cultivation and prosperity of Jamaica." The next wrong was the Bill for the registration of slaves "professedly to prevent their illegal introduction into the colonies, but covertly to pave the way for subsequent emancipation." The third wrong was the passage of Mr. Canning's resolutions in 1823, "conceding to out-door pressure the interests of the colonists, and the principle of slave-emancipation." The fourth wrong was the opinion of a Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, "that the slaves if emancipated would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labour." The great wrong, however, was the Act of Emancipation in 1834. By this Act, say they, "our local institutions have been superseded, the right of property invaded, political immunities disregarded, and, consequently, all that is dear and sacred to man in his social character placed in imminent danger." The last wrong, however, was the abolition of the apprenticeship system, by which "the proprietary body were unjustly deprived of two years' service of the apprentices, which had been pledged to them by Parliament as part of their compensation."

Such are the wrongs set forth by the Jamaica House of Assembly. The wonder is that they should have dared to mention them in 1846, in the face of the accumulated evidence of the iniquities of the slave-trade, and the atrocities of slavery, as they formerly existed in the British colonies. It shows us, however, the class of men with whom we have to deal, and the danger of allowing them power even under a state of freedom.

To the losses they pretend to have been subjected by emancipation, we have a full answer prepared by themselves, long before the abolition of slavery took place; but we do think they have just cause to complain—we speak of the body of colonists at large,—

that "the public and parochial burdens have exceeded for the last four years an annual average of £400,000." But we would ask whether the fault does not lie with the men who are most forward to complain? They possess in the legislature and the vestries paramount influence, and can to control the public expenditure; yet, in the very last session of the Assembly, when we fully expected they would have done it, they shrank from their duty. They have put the yoke voluntarily on their own necks, and if they continue to wear it, it will be their own fault. They well know that the people at large will sustain them in reducing the amount of the taxation which presses so heavily on the community, and on none more heavily than on the emancipated classes. They go on to say—

"To avert the destruction with which we are now threatened, and at the same time to secure cheap sugar to the people of England, it is only necessary that the emancipated colonies should have a limited protection for a limited time, and that all restrictions should be withdrawn from the importation of African labourers, who may thus be admitted to share in the blessings of freedom and the enjoyment of civilized life, now happily existing in your Majesty's colonies."

The memorialists conclude by praying,

"That if the duty cannot be altogether taken off British sugar, in accordance with the principles of free-trade now acted upon in respect to other articles, it should at any rate be reduced so far as to afford us some moderate and permanent protection, to meet in part the disadvantages under which we labour as compared with the slave cultivators:—

"That the duty on colonial and British spirits be equalized in the three kingdoms.

"That sugar and molasses be admitted into the distilleries and breweries.

"That all restrictions be removed from free African immigration, subjecting it only to such regulations as may be necessary to prevent it being made a cover for carrying the people into slavery.

"That contracts for labour be extended to three years, under such regulations as shall secure to the immigrants fair remuneration for their labour, and a full participation in the rights of freemen."

And, finally, they add—

"If these our reasonable requests are withheld; if we are to be involved in a ruinous competition with slave-holding countries; if your Majesty's Government are of opinion that the protection and assistance which alone can avert our ruin, are incompatible with the national interest, it will only remain for us, in the face of the nation and of the world, to demand of Parliament that equitable compensation to which, as British subjects, we are clearly entitled."

In the reply of Lord Grey, dated 1st February, 1847, he says, "Her Majesty's Government are convinced that neither co-operation nor any effective efforts to benefit the colonists could be promoted by an attempt to unsettle the course determined upon by Parliament for the immediate reduction and ultimate abolition of the protective duties on foreign sugar. It will be most conducive to the interests of all parties that the decision of Parliament on that subject should be regarded as final and conclusive." The noble lord then goes on to state:—

"But with regard to the other measures for which the Assembly applies, it is satisfactory to me to observe, that there is no very wide difference between the views of the Assembly and those of her Majesty's Government. A practical equalization of the duties upon colonial and British spirits has already been recommended to Parliament. It has also been recommended to Parliament that the use of sugars should be permitted in breweries and distilleries, and it is only from difficulties in regard to revenue, that the same permission has not been recommended in the case of molasses. Her Majesty's Government are most anxiously occupied with measures for facilitating the emigration of free labourers from Africa; and as the supply of emigrants from the British settlements

in Africa is so small and uncertain, they are about to try the experiment of inviting an emigration from the Kroo Coast, where the slave-trade does not exist, and the Negroes are known to be of an intelligent, serviceable, and enterprising race. It will be necessary that such an emigration should be conducted in the Queen's ships, to guard against abuse; and one of her Majesty's steam-vessels is about to be fitted out for the purpose of trying the experiment, in the first instance on a small scale. The emigrants, if procured, will be conveyed by this vessel to British Guiana and Trinidad, the colonies nearest to the coast of Africa, and to which there is reason to believe that the Kroomen can most readily be induced to resort; and if the attempt should be successful, it is intended that measures should be taken for procuring emigrants from the same quarter for Jamaica, and for such other of the colonies as shall be prepared to provide for the necessary expenses. With respect to the proposal to give validity to contracts for labour for three years, the chief objection which I have felt to them is, that they would, I fear, lead to reluctant and ineffective labour, disputes and discontent, and thus fail of effecting their purpose. But if the Assembly is of a contrary opinion, it will be for them to devise a law by which they can be made valid, without involving either oppression on the part of the employer, or idleness and insubordination on the part of the labourer. I have a strong impression, that it will be impossible to do so, the grounds of which you will find in the documents (printed for Parliament), which are specified in the margin. But I have no desire to force this view upon the Assembly against their own convictions, adopted after careful deliberation; and if they should resolve to pass a Bill to legalize contracts for three years, and you should not see reason to refuse your assent to it, it would be my duty to resume the consideration of the subject in reference to that Bill, with the same disposition to meet the views of the Assembly and surmount the difficulties of the case, which (as I have stated) will pervade the whole of the proceedings of her Majesty's Government on questions affecting the interests of the West Indian colonists. The attempt must, in the nature of it, be an experiment, and the Bill should be, therefore, a temporary one.

"With respect to the measures which the Assembly contemplates for the reduction of expenditure in the colony, there is no doubt that the times call for a strict economy in the administration of the colonial finances; and if there be an actual deficiency of revenue to meet the expenditure, it will be necessary to effect reductions to an extent corresponding with it. Even if this be not the case, the investigation which the circumstances of the colony will suggest into the particulars of its expenditure, will probably lead to retrenchments which may be effected without serious injury to the public service or hardship to individuals. But it deserves, I think, to be remarked, that no inconsiderable portion of the revenue of Jamaica is derived from sources of which the productiveness has not been found to fall or rise in correspondence with the fall or rise in the exports of sugar. The anticipated necessity, therefore, of very sweeping reductions of expenditure, does not appear to me to have been clearly established; and before such reductions are finally determined upon I should recommend to the Assembly very carefully to consider what is likely to be their effect on the welfare of their constituents, bearing in mind that if the circumstances of the colony are critical in respect of its agricultural and commercial prosperity, they are not less so in respect of those public services on which the entire well-being of the colony, its agriculture and trade, no less than its moral and spiritual interests, its industry and civilization, are at this time peculiarly dependent. The ecclesiastical and educational institutions of the colony, and those for the administration of justice, constitute the only foundations on which its permanent prosperity can be built; and I am persuaded that the Assembly would defeat its own objects—the objects which we all have at heart—if, in a moment of alarm, and without a proved necessity, they should impair the efficiency of those establishments: whilst, if the reduction were to be effected in a way to occasion loss and hardship to persons now in employment, the injury to the services would be one which it would be impossible to repair after the alarm should have passed away; for such services can be economically supplied with efficient officers only when there is a confidence in the stability of the employment and of the remuneration attached to it. If public servants, who do not share in the independence of commercial pursuits, nor in the occasional prizes and rewards of commercial enterprise, be made to suffer from seasons of commercial depression, the consequence must be, either that a very high rate of ordinary remuneration must be offered, or that the public service must be thrown into inferior hands. The subject, however, is entirely within the province of the Assembly; and the improvements which that body has provided for, of late years, in so many of the colonial establishments, are a sufficient assurance to her Majesty's Government that they have a just appreciation of the true interests of the colony, and that they will not needlessly undo their own work."—*Par. Pap.* No. 160, 1847, pp. 3—10.

It would be doing injustice to suppose that the whole of the leading colonists in Jamaica sympathise with the views of the Jamaica Legislature in the memorial which has just passed under review, in relation to the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. The inhabitants of the parish of Trelawny express themselves on

these points, in terms more befitting their character as Englishmen and Christians. They say,

"Your memorialists have learnt with regret and alarm, that your Majesty's Government have, in their wisdom, thought it right and expedient to enact a measure for the future regulation of the sugar duties, which has brought the sugar of the British colonies into direct competition with the sugars of foreign countries, where lands are cultivated and produce manufactured by slave labour, with a very slight and quite inadequate protection, which is to be gradually diminished, and to cease entirely in five years. *They view this measure with regret, because they recognise in it a departure from those high and holy principles which have hitherto actuated the British nation in standing forth to the world the champion of universal freedom, and the firm and unremitting foe of slavery and the slave-trade; fearing as they do, that the opening of the British market to slave-grown produce will tend to the increase of that revolting traffic, and give an additional impetus to the horrors of slavery.* They view the measure with alarm, because the inhabitants of this colony have been for many years in an impoverished condition, and they fear the removal of protective duties from their sugars, is calculated to render their condition infinitely worse."

On the ground that any alterations in the sugar duties, which would let in the production of slaves, would give an impetus to the African slave-trade, and extend the system of slavery, we have given the recent measure of Parliament our most strenuous opposition. On no other ground could we have been a party to any movement which would interfere with the freedom of trade throughout the world.

As everything which tends to develop the views and the policy of the Government is, under existing circumstances, important, we give another extract from the despatches of Lord Grey, addressed to the Governor of Jamaica, on the 12th February, 1847. It is as follows:—

"As proofs of the solicitude entertained by her Majesty's Government, that the change of system adverted to should be accompanied by as many measures for the relief and advantage of the West Indian colonies as were possible, I am to desire that you will direct the attention of the memorialists to the measures recently adopted or proposed by her Majesty's Government, for the more unrestricted supply of labourers to those colonies; for the admission of sugar into the breweries, and for the encouragement of its use in the distilleries of the United Kingdom; as well as for greatly reducing the duties on colonial rum in England, and still more in Scotland and Ireland. You will also remind the memorialists of the Act of last session, by which the colonists were empowered to relieve themselves from the restrictions attached to the importation of goods from foreign countries, for the protection of the manufacturers of the mother country—restrictions which have on other occasions been greatly complained of by the colonists, and the removal of which forms part of that general readjustment of their relations to Great Britain, which has on the other hand involved a modification of the system of colonial protection. And you will further point out to them, that although much pressed to consent to the immediate abolition of the sugar-growers' protection, and that, at all events, it should not be prolonged beyond the term of that assigned to the agriculturists of this country, her Majesty's Government proposed, and were enabled to carry through Parliament, the extension of that term to five years.

"Whilst recognising, however, the duty of the Government to remove all unnecessary restrictions, and to afford all possible facilities to the colonial producer, I am to desire that you will impress upon the memorialists, that it is rather to their own exertions than to legislative measures, that they should look for aid. The difficulties with which they have now to struggle, are really the consequence of evils engendered by the unnatural system of slave cultivation, hitherto only imperfectly corrected; possibly from having been fostered by the protective system which has been allowed to continue since slavery was abolished. The pressure of the difficulties produced by these causes cannot be prevented by any merely legislative measures, nor is it now for the first time complained of. It was severely felt both before the prohibition of the slave trade, and again before the abolition of slavery, as is shown by the complaints which were brought under the notice of the Government in 1807, and again in 1831, when even a greater disparity than that which is now alleged was said to exist between the cost of production in the British colonies, and in the foreign sugar-growing countries. Evils of such long standing cannot be eradicated except by vigorous efforts on the part of proprietors devoting their time and attention to the introduction and improvement of such processes, whether of cultivation or of manufacture, as are shown by experience to economise labour. On this subject I am to suggest to you, as deserving the consideration of the memorialists, the question whether greater energy in the management of estates might not be insured by some alteration of the arrangements under which it is now usually carried on. In this country it is not found that landed proprietors can with advantage manage their estates by cultivating them on their own account

by agents: while the business of the farmer, who raises corn, is seldom united with that of the miller, who converts it into flour. Judging from analogy, it would seem highly probable, that if estates in the West Indies were let, for fixed money rents, to those by whom they are cultivated, and if the business of this cultivation could be separated from that of the manufacture of sugar (a process demanding greater skill and chemical knowledge than the manufacture of flour), the result would be a very great reduction of the cost at which sugar is now produced.

"I am aware of no sufficient reason why such an alteration of the system which has so long prevailed in the West Indies, should not be attempted; and from exertions thus directed, aided by a liberal application of the capital which British subjects can so advantageously command, and which parties in this country are now manifesting their willingness to apply to colonial improvements, it is to be hoped that the colonists may derive so much benefit, that, when the protection still extended to them shall wholly cease, they may not only be in a position fearlessly to engage in the competition with their foreign rivals, but furnish another instance of the vigour with which such branches of industry as have languished under the baneful influence of protection, have hitherto, without exception, sprung into prosperity upon its removal."—(*Ibid.* pp. 13, 14.)

ANTIGUA.

The House of Assembly in Antigua, in their address to the Governor, state that—

"By the altered policy of the mother country, the colony is called upon to endure a struggle, not for wealth and prosperity, but for existence;" but that "it is no ordinary satisfaction to us, that the great question of the colonial interests arising from the recent commercial changes, engages the unremitting attention and deepest solicitude, as well of your Excellency as of the Imperial Government. The knowledge of this fact inspires us with a ray of hope and confidence, and encourages us to look for the co-operation and support of the parent state, while it cheers us on to the performance of our own peculiar duties, with that patience, fortitude, and perseverance, which, under the divine blessing, can alone justify the anticipation of a successful struggle with our opponents."

Lord Grey is pleased with the tone of this communication, and expresses his confidence, "that eventually the true interest of the colony will be found to have been promoted by the removal of artificial restrictions on the freedom of exchange."—*Ibid.* pp. 17, 18.

TRINIDAD.

The following resolutions embrace the views entertained in Trinidad on the recent alteration in the Sugar Duties, and the measures considered to be necessary to obviate its consequences:—

Resolved, 1st.—"That the colonists of Trinidad have learned with unfeigned alarm and dismay, the measure lately proposed in Parliament by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, for the settlement of the sugar question by the equalization of the duties upon sugar, the produce of slave-holding countries, and that of the British possessions.

2nd.—"That this meeting do record its most earnest protest against the injustice, the inhumanity, and the inconsistency of the proposed measure, and its opinion, that by adopting such a course, the British Government will violate all pledges, expressed or implied, for our protection, and abandon us to an unequal, disheartening, and it is to be feared, ruinous competition against the atrocious system of the Brazilian and Spanish slave-trader.

3rd.—"That in the opinion of this meeting, the present position of this colony is such as to debar us from the possibility of successful competition in the production of sugar with slave-holding countries, and that this arises from our having, ever since the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, been prevented by harassing and vexatious restrictions, from supplying ourselves with free labour from sources within our reach.

4th.—"That this meeting considers that immigration on a most extensive scale, under proper regulations, but not fettered by any unnecessary restrictions, can now alone avert the inevitable destruction of this colony, and that the coast of Africa is the best source from whence to derive an augmentation of labour suited to our present position and wants; therefore this meeting most earnestly calls upon his Excellency the Governor and the Legislative Council, to adopt every means in their power to insure the speedy introduction into this island of labourers from thence; and for the furtherance of this object, to solicit the Home Government to appoint accredited agents on the coast of Africa for the purpose of effectually carrying out the said measure.

5th.—"That this meeting is of opinion that the contemplated abolition of all Imperial or discriminating duties upon imports into the British colonies, will afford little or no substantial benefits to their inhabitants, and as a "boon" will prove altogether illusive, inasmuch as these duties are exclusively applied to colonial purposes, and in this island only amount to about one-sixth of the total duties collected; the deficiency, therefore, would have to be immediately made up by imposts not less onerous. But, that this meeting would now gladly hail such an approximation to the general principles of 'free trade,' as, by a modification of the existing

navigation laws, would enable British colonists to avail themselves of the cheapest 'bottoms' for carrying their produce to the home market as well as bringing their outward supplies, an advantage at present denied them, but at the command of their opponents the slave-holders.

6th.—"That upon the same free-trade principles, this meeting claims as a right, the admission of rum, the produce of British possessions, for consumption in the United Kingdom, at the same rate of duty as that charged upon home-made spirits; and also the use of British plantation sugar and molasses in all manufactories in which they can be employed.

7th.—"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the threatened measure is one infallibly calculated to give a fresh impetus to the slave trade, and to aggravate its horrors and miseries; and this meeting most earnestly calls upon the British Government to adopt and perseveringly carry through the most stringent measures for the effectual extinction of slavery throughout the world.

In reply to a communication from the Governor of Trinidad, Lord Harris, which conveyed another set of Resolutions, similar to the foregoing, with an addition relating to squatting, and the sale and settlement of Crown lands, Lord Grey, after stating his concurrence as to "the urgent necessity of taking effectual measures for securing the planters of Trinidad a greater command of labour, and expressing his doubts as to the system of providing Coolie labour on its present footing as to expense,"—he goes on to observe:—

"I consider it to be essential that the most energetic measures should be adopted for repressing the practice of squatting; and I have to instruct you to lose no time in bringing before your Council the question, whether it is not necessary to pass some law conferring very summary powers on some public officer, for ejecting all unauthorized holders of land. But, concurrently with these measures, I think it would be right, as is recommended in the resolutions, that others should be adopted for 'the sale and settlement of Crown lands in approved locations, and under judicious limitations, with the view of inducing immigrants who have gained money to remain in the island, and for the purpose of obtaining a fund for future immigration and internal improvements.' I entirely concur in the soundness of these views. I believe that it would be a wise policy to raise very considerably the price of Crown lands, at the same time employing a portion of the money thus obtained in clearing and laying out land in small lots, in eligible situations, so as to encourage the formation of villages to be inhabited by freeholders, who should look to labour on the neighbouring estates as their main dependence. It is most desirable that the population should be collected in villages instead of being scattered over the whole surface of the country; since this would greatly diminish the difficulty and expense of making adequate provision for religious instruction and the education of the children. It should never be lost sight of, that this instruction and education is not only essential to the moral and spiritual well-being of the Negroes, but also to the promotion of industry amongst them, by raising their notions as to what is necessary for comfortable existence, thereby increasing the motives to industry, and by enlightening their understanding in the application of labour, thereby increasing its value. If a system should in future be adopted, of requiring the population to pay for the education of their children, either by a poll-tax, a house-tax, or a penalty for neglecting to provide it, the collection of the people in villages would greatly facilitate the operation of such a system. This object of forming villages would be greatly promoted by selling the Crown lands at a high price, and in small lots. Nor should I think it unwise to allow such lots to be taken upon lease, at an adequate rent, with a power to the lessees to purchase the freehold whenever they could obtain the means of doing so. Such an arrangement would greatly tend to encourage industry. If, however, the land should be so let, the rent should be made payable yearly, in advance."—*Ibid.* pp. 24, 25.

ST. LUCIA.

The leading men of this colony set forth their "grievances" in a memorial to the crown, wherein they ask for "some modification of the Act admitting foreign slave-grown sugar for consumption in Great Britain and Ireland."

"Your memorialists have learned with deep regret, and very great alarm, that your most gracious Majesty has been pleased to sanction an Act of the Imperial Parliament, admitting into consumption in Great Britain and Ireland slave-grown sugar and molasses, and gradually abolishing all differential duties.

"Your memorialists beg leave most respectfully to represent to your most gracious Majesty, that this Act of Parliament cannot fail to discourage greatly the cultivation of the sugar-cane in your Majesty's possessions in this hemisphere; and that your memorialists having submissively and most readily carried out to the fullest extent the provisions of the Act for the emancipation of their slaves, and having encouraged the emancipated population in this colony pre-eminently by liberal money-wages, consider themselves entitled to every protection on the part of the parent state, and would therefore humbly pray for some modification of the Act admitting foreign slave-grown sugar into consumption in Great Britain and Ireland.

"Your memorialists beg leave further most humbly to represent, that your memorialists have always been, and are still, the most heavily taxed, for ordinary purposes, of all the sugar-growing colonies within the vast extent of your most gracious Majesty's colonial possessions; and, instead of obtaining any alleviation of their burdens to enable them to meet and surmount the accumulating difficulties which are heaped upon them, fresh burdens are annually imposed upon them; in proof of this, your memorialists beg leave, with all humility, to submit to your most gracious Majesty, that although so lately as in the year 1842, the expenditure as fixed by the Tax Ordinance was but £9,660 sterling, yet in the present year, 1846, the said expenditure is fixed at £13,893 18s. 6d., and attempts are still making to increase unnecessarily the salaries of some of the public officers."

The reply of Lord Grey is as follows:—

"Her Majesty has considered the memorial with an earnest desire to contribute, as far as might be possible, to the removal of the actual or apprehended evils which it brings under her notice. But her Majesty's confidential advisers have found themselves unable to advise the Queen to accede to the petition of the memorialists.

"Her Majesty's servants perceive with regret that the memorialists entertain apprehensions that the recent measures for the permanent settlement of the sugar duties will have an injurious effect upon their interests. We cannot, however, admit the justice of those apprehensions. On the contrary, we see no reason for supposing that the cultivation of sugar in the West Indies, if conducted on sound principles, and aided by the application of those improvements which are daily becoming known, and of that capital which British subjects are both able and willing to furnish for colonial enterprises, will form an exception to the rule that interests which languish under protection, spring up into vigour and activity on its removal.

"At the same time, I am to desire that the attention of the memorialists should be called to the solicitude which has been shown on the part of her Majesty's Government, that the change of system should be accompanied by as many measures for the relief and advantage of the West Indians as were possible; to the vital importance of setting at rest a question which has heretofore been the subject of annual discussion and annual disquietude, to the prolonged term of gradually diminishing protection which has been secured to them, notwithstanding the demands so strongly urged for the immediate abolition of that protection, or that, at all events, it might not be continued for a longer time than that granted to the British agriculturists; to the permission given to the colonists to relieve themselves from protective duties in favour of the manufactures of this country, which have so often afforded them grounds for complaint, to the proposed admission of their sugar into the breweries, and the encouragement of its use in the distilleries of the United Kingdom; and to the very material reduction which is likewise proposed of the duties on their rum, both in England, and still more in Scotland and in Ireland.

"With respect to the observations contained in the memorial on the subject of taxation, her Majesty's Government have no wish that taxes should be maintained in St. Lucia which are not indispensable for supporting establishments necessary for the interests of the inhabitants."—(Ibid pp. 26, 27.)

Against any concession to the West Indian body which they might in justice claim, we should be the last to make an objection. On the contrary we have unceasingly advocated their rights, and pressed on the Government the necessity and duty of respecting them; but they have no right to demand that the labouring classes in the colony should be heavily taxed to import foreign labourers for the purpose of competing with them in the labour market; they have no right to demand laws which shall bring the labourers under a system of implied contracts; they have no right to place the immigrants brought into the colony at the public expense, in circumstances in which they cannot exercise liberty of choice in the selection of their employers and employments, or under contracts, made out of the colony, which shall compel them to labour for a period of years for a planter; they have no right to abridge their personal liberty by a system of passports, confining them to a particular colony for five or more years; they have no right to require laws to coerce labour, or to administer laws affecting the relation between themselves and their servants for their own advantage. Yet they have done this, and the Government have sanctioned their unjust demands; and, at this time, it may be truly said, that, so far as law is concerned, a species of bondage has been introduced, of a most iniquitous kind, to enable the British planter to grow sugar at a rate which will enable him, under the new arrangements of the sugar duties, to compete with the slaveholders of Cuba and Brazil.

The labouring population of the colonies, both Creole and immigrant, are to be compelled to prove that the Government have made no mistake in the admission of slave-grown sugars into

the British markets; and Africa, as a *dernier resort*, is to supply the requisite amount of labour, falsely called *free*, to enable the planters to extend their cultivation, to help them out of their difficulty. But we say that neither the labourer in the colony, nor the poor African, ought to suffer either to meet the unreasonable demands of the West Indies, or the impolitic sanction of those demands by the Government.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE COLONIES.

The following communication has been made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Lord Grey.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GREY, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—It has been with considerable regret that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have recently found themselves compelled to object to certain measures which have either been sanctioned or suggested by her Majesty's Government, affecting the emancipated classes and the immigrant labourers in the British colonies. Whilst, however, they have considered those measures to be based on wrong principles, and that in their practical operation, they would abridge the rights, and coerce the labour of the people; they have not intended that it should be implied that, in their opinion, such was the design of the Government, or that they would lend themselves to any project of the West India body, which should produce such effects.

In all that respected the relations between the employer and the employed, the Committee have been most anxious to preserve, in their integrity, the orders in Council of the 7th of September and the 6th of October, 1838; being persuaded that any attempt to alter them would be attended with most injurious consequences. As to the general character of these orders in Council, the Committee have the sanction of the Governor of British Guiana in saying that a better code of laws for ascertaining and enforcing the relative duties of masters and servants could not have been devised. In a despatch, dated the 2nd of October, 1845, his Excellency said:—"I am bound to confess, that in my judgment, the orders in Council above mentioned, have fully answered every purpose for which they were framed; that in arrangement of the chapters to distinct branches of the subject, in perspicuity of language, in comprehensive brevity of definition and enumeration of offences, they form the most simple, perfect, impartial, and easily understood manual of legislation on the particular subject to which they relate, that was ever composed for the guidance of masters and servants in this part of the world."

The modification of these orders in Council, by little and little, until they may be said to have been practically repealed, and the substitution for them of coercive measures, has filled the Committee with alarm; and has led them earnestly to protest against the changes which have been effected; and which, however gratifying they may be to the planters, are, in their judgment, unjust and oppressive to the labourers.

The object, however, of the Committee in the present communication, is not to renew a discussion of the details of the measures referred to, but respectfully to express their dissent from the recommendations of your lordship on the subject of education, embodied in a circular despatch to the Governors of the British colonies, dated the 26th of January, 1847.

No persons can desire more sincerely than the Committee the general education of the emancipated classes; but to the mode suggested by your lordship to accomplish that object, they have insuperable objections. First, because it is compulsory. Referring to the formation of industrial schools, your lordship says:—"But, to whatever extent the schools might succeed or fail in bearing their own expenses, I cannot but indulge the hope that the Legislature of the colonies will acknowledge the paramount importance of causing such schools to be established, and will make such provision as may be required for that purpose. And, if it were necessary to raise money by a new impost, I should not object on the part of the Crown, to a tax falling directly on the people at large, provided the proceeds were made exclusively applicable to the education of their children; nor should I, indeed, be averse to any well-considered law, which should constrain the parents of children not exceeding a specified age, to send such children to school (under a penalty for neglecting to do so, unless for cause shown), and to pay a specified sum for their schooling. The choice of the school should, of course, be left to the parents, provided only it were certified by some public functionary, to be

appointed for the purpose, or by some minister of the Gospel, to be a school competently conducted."

Without entering into the question how far it is within the proper functions of Government to aid in the education of the people, the Committee have no hesitation in expressing their conviction that to compel education under pains and penalties, is so great an invasion of social rights, as that no plea of public expediency, or of private advantage, can justify it.

But when the Committee perceive that one great object of the proposed scheme of colonial education is to provide labourers for the plantations, they object to it, in the second place, because it is partial in its character. Your lordship remarks, "There should be some ground cultivated with canes, or other staples of exportable produce," attached to the schools, "so that the children may be exercised on that species of cultivation in which it will be, generally speaking, most expedient that they should be afterwards employed." In other words, it appears to the Committee, that the scholars are to be regarded and treated as a kind of agricultural apprentices, who are to be taught labour and learning for the benefit of the planter, rather than for the advantage of themselves or of the community at large. Conceiving that the chief end of education should be the benefit of the child, the Committee venture to question the right of any parties but its parents to lay down a rule relating to the species of labour, or the nature of the employment to which it should be trained. Above all, they cannot see why, in any arrangements relative to its education, the welfare of the planter should absorb the care of the Government, to the exclusion of every other part of the community. Yet the establishment of industrial schools in the manner proposed, is to be made subservient to this end, if not to this end only.

In the proposed arrangements for giving effect to the scheme of education contemplated, the Committee find that the children are expected to be at school as early as sun-rise, and that they will be kept at their various employments until sun-down. They will, therefore, be withdrawn from parental control during the whole day, and be subjected to such school discipline as may be deemed necessary to enforce labour or study. Against this arrangement, in the third place, the Committee object as eminently tending to destroy parental care and responsibility, which they believe should be fostered rather than weakened by inculcation of every proper motive. It may also be observed that not more than from two to three hours daily will be devoted to the culture of the mind under the proposed scheme, the rest of the time, exclusive of the dinner hour, is to be devoted to labour. Now the Committee conceive, that to exact such an amount of toil from school children in the tropics as this implies, would be to defeat the noblest ends of education; and could only, they feel assured, be obtained by cruel means.

It further appears that although secular education, within certain limits, is to be given to the children, it is specially provided that religious instruction is to be a primary point insisted on. The Committee are not insensible of the value of sound religious instruction, yet when they know that error, as well as truth, is, and may still be imparted under the form of religious instruction, they feel constrained, in the fourth place, to object to the proposed scheme on this ground. Your lordship is aware that, in British Guiana for instance, the English Episcopal, the Scotch Presbyterian, the German Lutheran, the Dutch Reformed, and the Roman Catholic, are all established and sustained out of the colonial funds. Each and all claim to be teachers of religious truth; yet in doctrine and practice they not only widely differ among themselves, but in some points of admitted essential importance are utterly and irreconcilably opposed. To enforce, under such circumstances, the religious instruction of the children, unless Government take upon itself to define in what it shall consist, is not only to sanction a latitudinarianism at variance with the claims of religious truth, but to trample upon the rights of conscience, a thing which the Committee sincerely hope may never be attempted in any part of the British empire to promote any purpose whatsoever.

The Committee venture to express their fears, in conclusion, that should the proposed scheme of colonial education be carried into effect, the result will be, first, to paralyze the exertions of the best friends of education in the emancipated colonies, and then to break up the free schools which have already, at much cost, anxiety, and labour, been established. For it is not to be supposed that, if the people are taxed for the support of the Government schools, that many will continue, in addition, voluntarily to pay for the educa-

tion of their children. The Committee foresee that the schools in connexion with the mission stations will greatly suffer and decline unless their supporters consent to be parties to the compulsory scheme, and it may be confidently predicted in either case, that deplorable results will follow.

For these reasons, and expressing not only their own convictions but those of the friends of the emancipated classes generally, the Committee would respectfully, yet urgently, entreat your lordship to withdraw the circular letter of instruction to the Governors of the colonies on the subject of education; and to leave the question open to the benevolent exertions and pious zeal of those who, in common with the Government, earnestly desire that a sound, a useful, and a religious education should be imparted to the children of the emancipated classes.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

On behalf of the Committee,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street,
June, 1847.

DOMESTIC SERVITUDE IN MEXICO.

All that concerns Mexico, her character, her people, and her institutions, have become matters of public interest. A correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican*, who it is believed is an officer in the army, furnishes the following account of the Domestic Institutions of the Mexicans:—

At the hacienda Hermanas there are one hundred and fifty peons. The services of these peons are hired, together with the land. On some haciendas there are more than a thousand peons. This system of peonage is one of the most singular characteristics of Mexico. By the constitution of Mexico, which went into operation in 1824, "Slavery is for ever prohibited in Mexico." Yet notwithstanding this provision, there is no country in the world where the slavery of mind and body is more abject than in Mexico. It is true there are none called slaves—the title is "domestic servants."

A Mexican may become a peon in two ways, voluntarily, by contract, agreeing to become a peon for wages, agreed on between the peon and his masters, to whom he sells himself; or involuntarily, where a Mexican is sold for debt, or is sold by a parent for debt or other consideration. When a man wishes to get a sum of money or some articles, he applies to a wealthy man for them. A bargain is struck by which he becomes indebted to his more wealthy neighbour in a certain sum. This sum he agrees to liquidate in domestic servitude, at a stipulated price per month, which in Northern Mexico ranges from two to six dollars per month. When a man has become indebted to another, and is unable to pay, he often has no alternative but to make a similar agreement. If a debtor is unable or unwilling to pay, his creditor goes to an alcalde and makes his complaint. The alcalde directs him to notify the debtor to come before him. This notice is given, and if not obeyed, the debtor is sent for and punished for contempt. The parties are thus brought summarily before the alcalde, who hears the statements of both parties, sometimes under oath and often without administering any whatever; when there is a difference in the statements of the parties, so as to make the alcalde doubt, he hears witnesses. If he is satisfied what decision he should make, he decides upon the verbal statements of the parties. If the decision is against the debtor, he is ordered to pay the amount due the creditor at once, and if he is not able to do it, he is forthwith imprisoned in the calaboose. If the debt still remains unpaid and the creditor requests it, the debtor is brought up and sold for the amount of the debt, which he is to pay in wages of from two to five dollars a month. The debtor thus becomes a peon until he discharges the debt.

Peons have the privilege of changing masters by getting some one else to pay the debt they owe. When this is done, a transfer of the right to the peon takes place, and he has to serve his new master as he had his first owner.

I am aware that this system of selling men for debt, is said to be against the laws of Mexico. But I know, beyond all question, that it is the universal custom in Northern Mexico, and that under it thousands are held in bondage for life. Neither is there any chance of redress by appeal, as a poor unfriended man stands but a bad chance for justice in a Mexican court.

Women become peons in the same way as men, but most generally by contract.

When a man becomes a peon, he removes his family, if he has one, to some house, or rather hut, provided for him by his master. By law or custom, (the latter being of much the most validity) there are allowed to each peon two almodos of corn, (about half a bushel) each week, which is given to him usually on Sunday morning. This is all the provision a master has to make for his peon. All his other food, and all his clothing, the peon has to provide for himself. This want of provision for the clothing and sustenance of the peon leads to another aggravation of his condition.

If the master furnishes his peon any food, or clothing, or other articles, a regular account is or should be kept of them, and they become an addition to the debt which the peon originally owed. And before he can obtain his freedom, he has to pay these new debts as well as the old one. No one will trust a peon except his master, for he has no means of payment. The Mexicans are notoriously an improvident, extravagant people. When they see an object, even a bauble, which they desire, they will seek to attain it even at the expense of freedom. And thus, by supplying the actual wants, and pandering to the vitiated taste of the peons for gaudy finery, the master keeps his peons in perpetual subjection.

It is very rare, when a man once becomes a peon, that he ever after attains his freedom. The extreme low rates of wages, the small price paid for the products of the soil, and for stock of all kinds, and his real wants and besetting extravagance, retain the peon in unending bondage.

The custom of the country requires that there be some time during the week allowed to the peons who reside in the ranchos and haciendas, to labour a portion of their time for themselves in gardens which are allotted to them. By this means, and by the help of their wives and children, some peons have an abundance of vegetables. They do not, however, seem to desire many. If they have a good patch of red peppers, it seems to supply all their wants, as fully at least as potatoes do the wants of the Irish. Their principal food consists of tortillas and peppers. Meat is rarely eaten by the peons. Some of them have fowls, goats, sheep, and cows, of their own, and from these occasionally supply themselves. Yet they are not fond of meat, like the Americans, and eat but little of it. Wheat bread is an article they taste but little.

When a peon misbehaves, he is subjected to the lash, but if his owner prefers, he gets an order from an alcalde to imprison him. When addressing his master, or one of the wealthy citizens, a peon takes off his hat, and speaks as respectfully as an American would do before a court of justice.

There is, however, one great difference between Mexican and American slavery. In the United States the slavery of the parent descends upon his children. It is not so in Mexico. The child is not enslaved because his parents were, nor is he bound to pay their debts.

The labour required of the peons is not usually severe. At every rancho and hacienda there is a large number of them, in proportion to the work that is to be done. One-fourth of the same number of Americans would do the same amount of labour. Their real wants in this climate are so few, and the labour required of them is so light, and their love of independence is so limited, that most of them seem to care very little whether they are freemen or peons.

So far as I have observed, this system of peonage is confined to the Mexican Indians. I have never seen a Spaniard, or one deep in that blood, who was a peon.

There are two races in Mexico—the Spaniards and their descendants, and the original Mexican Indians. Negroes are very rarely met with. The Mexican Indians constitute at least nine-tenths of the whole population in this part of Mexico, and I am told the proportion is equally large throughout the nation.

The Mexican Indians are a dark olive, and similar in colour to the Indians in the United States. The Spaniards are brunettes, and have dark complexions for white men; and the Mestizos are of all intervening shades between the two.

There is a marked distinction between the races in another respect. The Spaniards are looked upon as the superior race by the Indians themselves. They overran and enslaved the country, and from the time of Cortez, they had held all the important civil and military offices, with very few exceptions. The Spaniards and Mestizos are the landholders, merchants, and educated men; the Mexican Indians are their peons.

The Mexican Indians often dislike the Spaniards, but they dare not show it. They feel they are an inferior race and submit. The history of the country shows that cruel and barbarous outbreaks

have been made by the Mexican race to overwhelm and exterminate the Spaniards, but they have always eventuated in the ascendancy of the Spaniards. For when the Mexicans seemed to triumph, some renegade Spaniard, or Mestizo, who had joined them, obtained and held the power of government.

In this classification, it is understood that the Camanches, Lipans, Arapahoes, and other Indian tribes, are not included. These are called *wild* Indians, and, although reveling in the utmost barbarism, they are superior to the Mexican Indians as soldiers.

THE SCRIPTURAL MEANING OF THE TERMS ΕΒΕΔΗ AND ΔΟΥΛΟΣ.

We submit the following judicious remarks of the Rev. A. Barnes, of Philadelphia, U.S., on the terms *ebedh* and *doulos*, to which so much importance is attached by pro-slavery writers.

In order adequately to understand what was the real character of the servitude which existed among the patriarchs, on which so much reliance is placed by those who attempt to sustain the system by an appeal to the Bible, it is of the utmost importance to understand what is the exact sense of the word used to designate this relation in the Scriptures. If the word rendered *servant* in the Old Testament necessarily means *slaves* in the modern sense of the term, it will do something to settle the question whether slavery as it now exists is in accordance with the will of God. It must be assumed by those who bring the example of the patriarchs in support of slavery, that the word had the same signification then which it has now; for if the word, as used in their times, meant an essentially different thing from what it does now, it is obvious that its use furnishes no argument in support of slavery.

The Greeks, accustomed to exact distinctions, and favoured with a language so refined as to distinguish the nicest shades of thought, discriminated accurately between various kinds of servitude, and designated those relations in a way which is not common in other languages. To serve in general, without reference to the manner in which the obligation to service originated, whether by purchase, by contract, by being made a captive in war, as a subject, a dependent, they expressed by the word δουλεύω—*douleuo*; to serve as a soldier for reward, or to serve the gods, they expressed by the word λατρεύω—*latreuo*, (Passow); to serve as a domestic or household servant, under whatever manner the obligation arose, they expressed by the word οικειεύω—*oikeiteuo*; to serve in the capacity of a hired man, or for pay in any capacity, they expressed by the word μισθώω—*misthōō*; to serve in the capacity of an attendant or waiter, especially at a door, they expressed by the word υπακούω—*hypakouō*, (Passow). The proper word to denote a slave, with reference to the master's right of property in him, and without regard to the relations and offices in which he was employed, was not δούλος—*doulos*, but ἀνδράποδον—*andrapodon*, defined by Passow, *Sklav, Knecht, bes, der durch Kriegsgefangenschaft in Leibeigenschaft Gerathne*—"a slave, servant, especially one who as a prisoner of war is reduced to bondage." (1) Hence the Greeks used the term δούλος—*doulos*, to express servitude in the most general form, whatever might be the method by which the obligation to service originated. They used the term ἀνδράποδον—*andrapodon*, to denote a slave regarded as property; the term δμῶς—*dmōs*, also, to denote a slave as one conquered, or as primarily made by capture in war; (2) the term οικεῖς—*oikeus*, (3) οικίτης—*oiketes*, to denote a household servant; the terms ὑπηκοός—*hypekoos*, to denote an attendant, a waiter; the term μισθίος—*misthios*, to denote a hired man, or a labourer in the employ of another; and the word λατρίς—*latris*, to denote one who served for pay, as a soldier. That δούλος—*doulos* might be a slave, and that word is most commonly applied to slaves in the classic writers, and frequently in the New Testament, no one can doubt; but its mere use in any case does not of necessity denote the relation sustained, or make it proper to infer that he to whom it is applied was bought with money, or held as property, or even in any way regarded as a slave. It might be true also that the various terms *doulos*, *dmōs*, *andrapodon*, *oiketes*, and possibly *hypekoos*, might all be applied to persons who had been obtained in the same way, either by purchase, or by being made prisoners in war; but these terms, except those of *andrapodon* and *dmōs*, would not designate the origin of the relation on the nature of the tenure by which the servant was bound. The words used in our language—*servant*, *slave*, *waiter*, *hired man*, though not marking the relations with quite as much accuracy as the Greek words, will indicate somewhat the nature of the distinctions. It may be proper to add, that the word *doulos*, as regarded above, is frequently used in the New Testament, being found one hundred and twenty-two times; (4) the word οικίτης—*oiketes* occurs four times, in three places rendered *servant*, and in one *household servant*. Luke xvi. 13.—"No servant can serve two masters;" Rom. xiv. 4.—"That judgest another man's servant;" and 1 Peter ii. 18.—"Servants, be subject to your masters." The word μισθίος—*misthios* occurs in Luke xv. 17, 19, in both places rendered *hired servants*,—"How many hired servants of my father's," "Make me as one of thy

Hired servants." The word *ὑπηκοός*—*hypokoos* occurs in Acts vii. 39, 2 Cor. ii. 9, Phil. ii. 8; in each case rendered *obedient*; the word *λατρίς*—*latris*, does not occur, though the word *λατρεία*—*latreia*, service, and *λατρεύω*—*latreuo*, to serve, frequently occur, applied in all cases to religious service; and the word *ἀνδράποδον*—*andrapodon*, which peculiarly denotes slavery, does not occur at all, though the correlative word *ἀνδραποδιστής*—*andrapodistes* occurs once (1 Tim. i. 10) with the most marked disapprobation of the thing denoted by it:—"The law is made for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers, for menstealers, for liars," &c.

The Hebrews made no such minute distinctions as the Greeks did. Their language was less cultivated, and much less adapted to express nice discriminations of thought. They use but one word עֶבֶד *ebedh* to express all the relations of servitude, somewhat as the word *servant* is used in the slave-holding states of our own country. Among the Hebrews, however, the word was used as expressing, with propriety, the relations sustained; in a slave-holding community it is adopted as a mild term to avoid the use of the odious and offensive term *slave*.

The Hebrew words עֶבֶד *ebedh*, עֲבָדָה *abodha*, and עֲבָדָה *abudda*, rendered commonly *servant*, *service*, and *servants* (Job. i. 3), are derived from עָבַד *abaddh* meaning to labour, to work, to do work. It occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures some hundreds of times in various forms of the word, and is never rendered *slaves*, but commonly *servants*, and *serve*. Occasionally the words derived from the verb are rendered *bondman*, or *bond-servant*, Lev. xxv. 39, 42, 44; Jos. ix. 23; 1 Kings ix. 22. The verb and the nouns derived from it are applied to any and every kind of service or servitude which one can render to another. The ideas of working for another, ministering to another, being bound to another, being tributary to another, offering homage to another, will all be found embraced in this word. The essential significations in the use of the word are (1) to labour or work, without respect to the question who it is for, and (2) to render service to another; that is, to be subject to him, and to act with reference to his will. In accordance with this, the word, in various forms, is used to denote the following kinds of service:—(1) To work for another. Gen. xxix. 20; xxvii. 40; xxix. 15; xxx. 26. 1 Sam. iv. 9. (2) To serve, or be servants of a king. 2 Sam. xvi. 19. Gen. xl. 20; xli. 10, 37, 38; 1. 7. Ex. v. 21; vii. 10; x. 7. (3) To serve as a soldier, 2 Sam. ii. 12, 13, 15, 30, 31; iii. 22; viii. 7, *et sæpe*. (4.) To serve as an ambassador, 2 Sam. x. 2—4. (5.) To serve as a people; that is, when one people were subject to another, or tributary to another, Gen. xiv. 4; xv. 14; xxv. 23. Isa. xix. 23. Gen. xv. 13; ix. 26, 27; xxvii. 37. (6.) To serve God, or idols, Ex. iii. 12; ix. 1, 13. Deut. iv. 19; viii. 19. Under this head the word is often used in the sense of "the servant of Jehovah," applied (a) to a worshiper of the true God, Neh. i. 11. Ezra v. 11. Dan. vi. 21, *et sæpe*; (b) a minister, or ambassador of God, Isa. xlix. 6. Jer. xxv. 9; xxvii. 6; xliii. 10. Deut. xxxiv. 5. Josh. i. 1. Ps. cv. 26. Isa. xx. 3. (7.) The word is often employed to denote a servant, whether hired, bought, or inherited—one who was involuntarily held to service to another. In this sense it is frequently used in the laws of Moses; for all the kinds of servitude which are referred to there, are designated by this term. As already observed, the Hebrews did not make distinctions between the various kinds of service with the accuracy of the Greeks. So far as I have been able to ascertain they made no distinction of that kind, except that in later times they made use of one other term besides עֶבֶד *ebedh*, which was *sakir*, one hired; a hired labourer; one to whom wages was paid. Ex. xii. 45; xxii. 14. Lev. xix. 13. Isa. xvi. 14. Job vii. 1. In one passage in Job (vii. 2, 3) the two words occur in the same verse where the distinction is marked, and so as, by the parallelism, to show that the persons referred to were regarded as in some respects on a level.

"As a servant, עֶבֶד (*ebedh*) earnestly desireth the shadow. And as an hireling, שָׂכִיר (*sakir*) looketh for the reward of his work; so am I made to possess vanity, and wearisome nights are appointed to me." There were, indeed, in the Hebrew language two words, which denoted exclusively female domestics, or servants, which may be regarded as a refinement peculiar to them. I do not know that it occurs often in other languages. Neither of these words, however, were designed, so far as I can perceive, to denote the kind of service which was to be rendered, but only to mark the distinction of sex. The female servant thus designated, might either be hired, or bought, or inherited, or be a captive taken in war. Their condition seems to have partaken of the general nature of servitude, though for what reason a distinctive name was given to them is not certainly known. One of the names used was אִמָּה *ama*, rendered *maid-servant*, Ex. xx. 10; xxi. 7, 32. Job xxxi. 13. Deut. xv. 17. *Bond-maid*, Lev. xxv. 44. *Bond-woman*, Gen. xxi. 10, 12, 13; *maid*, Gen. xxx. 3. Lev. xxv. 6. Ex. iii. 5. Job xix. 15. Nah. ii. 7; *Hand-maid*, Ex. xxiii. 12. Ruth iii. 9. 1 Sam. i. 11; xxv. 24, and often; and the other name was, שִׁפְחָה *shiphah*, rendered *handmaid*, Gen. xvi. 6; xxix. 24. Prov. xxx. 23. Gen. xxv. 12; xxxv. 25, 26. *Bond-maid*, Lev. xix. 20; *maiden*, Ps. cxxiii. 2. *Women-servants*, Gen. xxxii. 5, 6. *Maid-servant*, Ex. xi. 5. 1 Sam. viii. 16. Gen. xii. 16;

xxiv. 35; xxx. 43. *Wench*, 2 Sam. xvii. 17; and *Servant*, 1 Sam. xxv. 41. The distinction between these two words applied to female servants, it is probably impossible now to mark.

From this examination of the terms used to denote servitude among the Hebrews, it follows, that nothing can be inferred from the mere use of the word in regard to the kind of servitude which existed in the days of the patriarchs. The conclusions which would be fair from the use of the word would be these. 1. That any service, whether hired labour or that rendered by one who was bought, whether that of freeman or slave, whether in the house or the fields, would be properly expressed by the use of the Hebrew word. 2. That at any period of their history the word denoted servitude as it then existed, and its meaning in any particular age is to be sought from a knowledge of the kind of servitude which then actually prevailed. We can ascertain the meaning of the word from the facts in the case, not the nature of the facts from the use of the word. If the kind of servitude existed which does now in England, and to which the word *servant* is applied, it would accurately express that; if the kind which existed under the feudal system, it would express that; if the kind which existed in Russia, it would express that; and if such a kind as exists in the Southern States of this Union, it would express that. 3. The word might, therefore, denote slavery, if slavery at any time existed. The Hebrews would not have been under the necessity of forming a new word to denote the relation; but the term in actual use would have covered the whole ground, and would easily adapt itself to the actual state of things. But 4, it did not necessarily denote that; and that signification is not to be given to it in any case unless it is clear, from other sources than from the use of the word, that slavery was intended. It might mean many other things, and it is not a correct method of interpretation to infer, that because this word is used, that, therefore, slavery existed.

It follows from this, that the mere use of the word in the time of the patriarchs, determines nothing in the issue before us. It does not prove either that slavery existed then, or that it is lawful. From anything that can be learned from the mere use of the word, the kind of servitude then existing may have had none of the essential elements of slavery.

(1) Comp. Prof. G. W. Becker, in the Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. ii. p. 569.

(2) Od. i. 396; ib. xix. 9, 333. (Crusius, Lex.)

(3) Od. xiv. 4; iv. 245.

(4) According to Greenfield's Schmidius, the word *doulos* occurs 122 times in the New Testament. Of these nineteen are parallel, and the remaining 103 may be classed as follows:—

1. Applied to servants of men.

(1) Of Jewish Masters	47
(2) Of Masters generally, without distinction	18
(3) Of a Gentile Master (Matt. viii. 9.)	1
(4) To Christians as servants of each other (Matt xx. 27; 2 Cor. iv. 5.)	2
2. To the Servants of God and Christ	28
3. To Christ as the Servants of God (Phil. ii. 7.)	1
4. To the Servant of Sin and Satan	4
5. Used indefinitely, (Rom. vi. 16.)	1
6. To those "under the Elements of the World," (Gal. iv.)	1
	103

PRAYER FOR THE SLAVE.

Let all abolitionists, who believe in a God that hears and answers prayer, improve this privilege and duty to pray fervently and without ceasing for the destruction of this hydra-headed monster, stalking in the midst of us, and destroying almost all which is lovely in the land. The monthly concert, on the last Monday evening in every month, ought to be conscientiously observed. Nor should this suffice—we should remember this cause daily in our private devotions. Nor should we merely make mention of it, we should wrestle with God; we should plead with him to answer our prayers, for his great NAME SAKE. In our prayers we should remember the slaveholder; and pray to God, that his mind may be enlightened and be brought to repentance for this great sin; and be moved by the spirit and power of God, to let the oppressed go free. We ought to remember that the hearts of all men are in the hand of the Lord—that he can work wonders among slaveholders in the midst of slavery, and there raise witnesses for the truth by thousands, who shall be efficient instruments in the overthrow of this great enemy to the truth of God and rights of man. Brethren, "have faith in God!" and "pray without ceasing" and you shall see that Israel's KING is yet able to work wonders in Egypt, and deliver this oppressed people with a high hand and an outstretched arm!—*Paw. Rec. (U.S.)*

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, THURSDAY, JULY 1st, 1847.

The vigorous assaults directed against the colonial system of France, during the late debate in the French Chambers, on the abolition of slavery, have been followed by two important events, the retirement of Admiral Mackau, then Minister of Marine and Colonies; and the introduction, by Mr. Guizot, the minister, *ad interim*, of two measures for adoption by the Legislature; one to compel insolvents in the colonies to surrender their property to meet the just demands of their creditors, and the other to purify the administration of justice, and, if possible, to protect the miserable slaves from the atrocious cruelties of their masters. With respect to the first of these measures, it has long been wanted; and, if adopted, will be likely to remove one great element of opposition to the abolition of slavery which at present exists.

The measure proposed by M. Guizot for the protection of slaves, embodies the following amendments: First, That the Assize Courts, instead of being presided over by four counsellors of the royal courts, and three assessors, who are found almost invariably to decide against the slave, and in favour of his master, they shall henceforth be composed of six members of the Royal Court, who, we believe, are removable at the royal pleasure; and, secondly, that instead of a majority of five in seven, as in the first case, four in six shall be required to determine the guilt of the parties accused before them, whether they be slaves, or their masters. In the course of the discussions which arose on this measure in the Chamber of Deputies, an amendment was carried to the Government proposition, namely, that the new court should be composed of seven members, drawn from the titular and auditor counsellors of the Royal Courts, and, in case of need, from the royal judges; and that a majority of five votes should be necessary to the condemnation of an accused person. The only change, therefore, that has really taken place in the constitution of the assize courts, is the withdrawal of the assessors, and the substitution, in their place, of counsellors of the Royal Courts. Undoubtedly the innovation is an important one; but, in order to its efficient working, the same rule which excludes the assessors—namely, their being almost always proprietors of slaves, or interested in colonial property, should be applied also to the counsellors of the Royal Courts, who, with few exceptions, are in the same predicament with the assessors; and, as experience proves, as little to be trusted on questions immediately affecting their interests or their prejudices. M. Ledru-Rollin, the eloquent and intrepid advocate of immediate emancipation, proposed to correct this anomaly, by moving an amendment to the effect, that, in future, no person should be appointed a magistrate in the colonies if he were born there, or had contracted marriage with a Creole, or were possessed of property therein. M. Ledru-Rollin sustained this proposal with great ability; and showed, from official documents, that an independent magistracy was absolutely necessary to secure the ends of justice, and to protect the slaves. The new Minister of Marine and Colonies, M. de Montebello, opposed the amendment, and it was withdrawn on the suggestion of M. Gustave de Beaumont, an old friend of the anti-slavery cause. It is expected, however, that the Government will act upon it in future appointments.

In the course of the discussion, M. Paul de Gasparin put a question to M. de Montebello respecting the use of the cart-whip in the punishment of slaves, which he pronounced to be not only a frightful, but a useless torture, and the primary cause of most of the crimes committed on the plantations. The Minister of Marine and Colonies was not, however, prepared to abandon the use of the whip. He stated, that so long as slavery remained, it was necessary to resort to punishment or coercion, in order to secure labour and enforce obedience; and until a substitute could be found, the whip must be continued. He engaged, however, to give the subject his most serious consideration. The application of the whip, it appears, has been abolished in the case of women; and the number of lashes which can be inflicted, at any one time, on male slaves, has been reduced from twenty-nine to fifteen. M. Ledru-Rollin sustained the position of M. de Gasparin, and instanced the case of several humane masters who had wholly abandoned the use of the whip on their estates, with great advantage to themselves and to the slaves. At the same time he gave a heart-rending account of the punishment of a female slave, in the colony of Cayenne, within two months of her confinement, inflicted

in a most savage manner by the hand of her master. The case was deemed one of such enormity, that it was brought before the Royal Court. The evidence was produced; the fact was incontestible; but the Court decided, that although it was "*imprudent*" to punish a woman under such circumstances; yet as the accused had inflicted the whipping with his own hand, that it might be "*moderate*," and that as he had not overpassed the limits of the disciplinary power vested in him, he was entitled to an acquittal, and he was acquitted accordingly!

In the course of the debate we are glad to perceive that the friends of emancipation in the Chamber of Deputies did not in any wise sanction the idea, that justice was to be expected from the colonial magistracy, constituted as it at present is, and that they threw the whole responsibility of the new measure upon the Government. It was also broadly stated by many, and acknowledged by all who spoke in the debate, that the laws framed for the benefit of the slaves had, up to this time, effected nothing for them. We foresaw that; and we predict that the spirit of resistance will be carried still further, until the indignation of the Chambers, and of all France, shall sweep the system of slavery entirely away. There is no cure for the horrors of slavery, but its complete abolition.

We have had an opportunity, within the last few days, of consulting a recent work by M. Victor Schœlcher, entitled "*History of Slavery during the two last years*." It is rich in information and in facts drawn from official sources. It is written in the true spirit of humanity and freedom. It is a fearful bill of indictment against the French planters, the colonial magistrates, and the Government. It handles with just severity the proceedings of Admiral Mackau, when minister; and demonstrates that, unless the people of France take the measure in hand, the abolition of slavery will not take place. He urges this point with great force, and concludes his eloquent appeals in these words: "So long as France has the power to emancipate the Negroes, and will not do it, every Frenchman will have to bear his part in the responsibility connected with the atrocities and iniquities of slavery; and must be held guilty of the barbarities of the master and the sufferings of the slave."

In a note appended to his work M. Schœlcher records a pleasing fact, for the purpose of showing the interest which the workmen of Paris take in the cause of abolition. He was anxious to get it rapidly through the press, and, therefore, offered the men engaged upon it a gratuity if they would continue their labours during the Easter Holidays. In reply to his proposition, he received the following communication from them, which does them the highest honour:—"The Easter holidays will not be allowed to interrupt the composition of your book; you will, therefore, receive, without interruption, the necessary proofs. As to your generous proposition, the compositors deem it to be an honour to work without any gratuity for the holy cause which you so ably defend." We cannot forget that the first petition for the immediate abolition of slavery in the French Colonies originated with the intelligent work people of Paris; and we rejoice to know that they need no stimulus to future and increased exertion, to promote the liberty and happiness of their fellow men.

The general assembly of the Free Church of Scotland has again met and separated, without doing its duty in relation to American slavery and slaveholders.

Like all men who have taken a false view of their duty, or who, in the moment of trial, have shrunk from its performance, but who, nevertheless, are puffed up with an overweening conceit of their position and ability, Dr. Candlish and Dr. Cunningham presume to be arrogant, and to treat with contempt the deep-rooted conviction of the Christian public in this country,—that not only is slavery incurably wicked in itself, but that all who wittingly sustain the relation of slaveholders are guilty persons, and ought to be dealt with as offenders. The measure of guilt, we admit, may be greater in one case than another; but, in our judgment, the man who calls himself "a Christian slaveholder," is the most guilty of all; and next to him the Doctor of Divinity who defends him.

The ridicule which Dr. Candlish pours on the Ladies of Edinburgh, for their earnest and conscientious labours in behalf of the American slave, is unworthy of any man who pretends to be a Christian and a gentleman. If, in their earnest zeal in behalf of the most oppressed portion of our race, they have not always acted wisely, they might surely have been forgiven that in consideration

of the humane and holy motives which prompted them. But we affirm that they did not act unwisely when they appealed from the decision of the General Assembly of the Free Church to every associated body of professing Christians throughout the country; and called upon all to bear a consistent testimony against slaveholding. If these, and other bodies appealed to, did not respond, assuredly it was not for the reason assumed by the reverend Doctor; but because it was either deemed useless, or known beforehand that petitions or remonstrances from others than those immediately connected with that Church, would not be received. We have no doubt that if proper measures were taken, we could make the tables of the General Assembly of the Free Church groan under the weight of remonstrances; and that, too, without following in the footsteps, or endorsing the opinions of Messrs. Garrison and Thompson, Buffum and Wright.

We regret that, within the Free Church itself, there is so little vitality on the question of abolition. Cheated by the sophistries of Dr. Candlish and the bold assertions of Dr. Cunningham, the people seem to have handed over to them the directions of their intellects and the keeping of their consciences. But light will break forth by and bye. The members of the Free Church will learn that no slave belonging to any Presbyterian in the United States can be legally married; that every slave is liable to be taken in execution to pay his master's debts; and that, unless left free at his master's death, he must be treated as property, and be subject to all its degrading incidents. Now, we ask whether it can be right that any Christian should sustain a relation to his fellow-man which necessarily abrogates the divine ordinance of marriage? We ask whether it can be scriptural that any Christian should place his neighbour in a position in which he can be seized and sold to pay his debts? We ask, finally, whether it can be lawful in the sight of God for any Christian to bequeath men, women, and children to his heirs or others for any purposes whatsoever? Such dominion of man over man God never gave. The relation is unholy, and is alike repudiated by the common sense of mankind and the revelation of God to man.

In opposition to this Dr. Cunningham remarks, "*I venture to say, that it is certain that the apostles of our Lord and master admitted slaveholders to the table of the Lord, and to all the privileges of the church.*" Now we deny this, and ask for the proof. Is Dr. Cunningham prepared to give it? It will not do for Dr. Cunningham to concoct a proposition, which no sensible Abolitionist has ever pretended to moot or defend, and then to challenge its proof. What says he? "And they," that is those whom he chooses to regard as opponents, "wish their proof of the fact, that the meaning of the word *doulos* does not always mean a slave, to be received by the community as an attempt to establish the proposition that the word of God imposes, as a law on all the churches of Christ, the immediate and absolute exclusion of slaveholders from all religious ordinances. I certainly will be willing," he adds, "to discuss that question, if any man, competent to discuss it, would come forward and just lay down this proposition, and undertake the proof of it; although, of course, the idea of proving it is ridiculous." Now we affirm that no person, competent or incompetent to discuss this question, in the ranks of the Abolitionists, either in this country or the United States, has ever laid down such an absurd proposition. The word *doulos*, as may be seen in another part of the *Reporter*, settles nothing in this controversy. In putting forth this false issue, Dr. Cunningham may have intended to create a diversion in his own favour; but where was his candour when he did it? The true issue must be taken on his own proposition, that "the apostles admitted slaveholders to the table of the Lord and to all the privileges of the church." Let him prove this—he intimates that he can—from the sacred Scriptures, and we will admit, at all events so far as he is concerned, that he can justify the course of conduct which he has pursued, both in the United States and in Scotland, on the subject of slaveholding; though we are persuaded that he can never justify the contemptuous spirit in which he treats those who differ from him.

We commend to Dr. Cunningham, and those who think with him, the "Inquiry into the scriptural views of slavery," by the Rev. Albert Barnes, U. S., not that we fully subscribe to all that he has written upon the subject, but because he is a writer whom the reverend doctor himself must admit to be a competent scholar, and who is, moreover, a good Presbyterian. Mr. Barnes says, in his concluding remarks, "The examination which I have pursued has conducted us, if I mistake not, to the conclusion that slavery

cannot rest for its support on the teachings of the Bible. The fair influence of the Bible, the application of the principles of the Christian religion, would bring the system to a speedy end." In another place, he remarks, "There is but one result everywhere to be anticipated in the progress of knowledge, and in the careful investigations of the Scriptures on this subject, and that is the result which has reached the minds of Penn and the younger Edwards, and by Wilberforce and Clarkson, that the system of slavery is contrary to the spirit of the Bible." * * * * *

"Future generations will look upon the defences of slavery drawn from the Bible, as among the most remarkable instances of mistaken interpretation and unfounded reasoning furnished by the perversities of the human mind." Mr. Barnes is of opinion that, "If the Bible could be shown to defend and countenance slavery, as a good institution, it would make thousands of infidels; for there are multitudes of minds that will see more clearly that slavery is against all the laws which God has written on the human soul, than they would see that a book sanctioning such a system, had evidence of divine origin." Now then, if slavery, as a system, finds no countenance or support in the Sacred Scriptures; if it be contrary to the spirit of the Bible; if the principles of the gospel, legitimately applied, would bring it to a "speedy end;" if it be not a "good institution," but a bad one; then what have Christians to do with it? Looking at its fearful origin, the unrighteous laws by which it is maintained, the atrocious cruelties which it perpetrates, and perpetuates from one generation to another, we ask again, What have Christians to do with it, except it be to avoid and condemn it as a deadly evil? It is, in our judgment, the duty of every Christian church, to stand up in the sacred majesty of a solemn and public testimony against it, and to say to every slaveholder, whatever his pretensions and professions may be, we cannot and will not give you the right hand of fellowship; we cannot and will not recognise you as a Christian brother, until you are purged from the taint of the corrupt and corrupting system of slavery? Till then, we regard you as a spiritual leper, and your place is "without the camp."

It will afford all our readers interested in African discovery, much satisfaction to learn that Mr. Daniell, the traveller, has reached this country, after escaping all the dangers of a journey in the comparatively unknown parts of South-western Africa. He has come home richly laden with information. We regret to learn, however, that the slave-trade is rapidly gaining ground in Angola and the adjacent countries, to the great detriment of legitimate commerce; and, that notwithstanding the reputed vigilance of our cruisers, a vast number of slaves have been shipped for Brazil—the exports of a few months exceeding the ordinary amount of past years. A vessel had even been equipped in the port of Loanda, the chief Portuguese settlement in Southern Africa, where the British and Portuguese Mixed Commission sits, and had successfully escaped with a cargo of slaves. Among the individuals implicated in this affair was one of the Portuguese members, who has in consequence been expelled from his post by the Government.

Nor is the trade less active on the North-western coast of Africa. We learn by the latest intelligence, that "that the slave-trade is very brisk, nor is it considered possible to suppress it until the traffic is treated as piracy." If such be the case then it will never be suppressed; for many of the most powerful states—France among the rest—positively refuse to regard it in that light.

Our own conviction, frequently expressed, is, that whilst the demand for new slaves is so great, as it undoubtedly is both in the Spanish colonies and Brazil, and the traffic yields such enormous profits, as to cover all the risk of capture, and to put large fortunes into the pockets of the slave-traders, it is in vain to seek its suppression by an armed system of cruising, for that only adds to its horrors without diminishing its extent. Government spends upwards of a million a year on this service, without reaching the point at which it aims. Surely other and wiser measures should be adopted.

In another part of the *Reporter* will be found a paper on the policy of the Government in relation to the West Indian Colonies. Everything is conceded to the planters. They are to have emigrants from Africa, under contracts for periods of years; they are to have laws to enforce those contracts; and, in various other ways, are to be assisted, in order that they may compete in the sugar market of this country with the Spanish and Brazilian slaveholders,

So large is the promise of a supply of labour to the planter, that one would suppose they had almost been deprived of it hitherto by the Government. A return, however, which we have before us, shows, that since the abolition of Slavery, Jamaica has imported from various countries, 8,516 labourers; Trinidad 17,788; British Guiana, 33,852; and Mauritius about 90,000, in all nearly 155,000 labourers! If the history of these importations—the treachery and cruelty which accompanied, and the mortality and degradation which followed them, were fully known, a burst of indignation would be heard throughout the land; but, unhappily, at present, there is no man in either house of the Legislature who cares sufficiently for these things, to make it the subject of solemn inquiry, or of public reprobation. The voice of justice and humanity is smothered by the contrivances of parties, and the arts of political manoeuvring.

UNITED STATES.

CONFERENCE OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

The meeting for the purpose of forming an Evangelical Alliance in the United States, assembled on the 5th of May, at the Lecture-room of Dr. Skinner's church, 261, Greene-street. Rev. Dr. Schermerhorn was invited to preside at the devotional services which followed.

Next followed the transaction of business, and Hon. JOSEPH C. HORN-BLOWER, LL.D., Chief Justice of New Jersey, was appointed chairman, and Rev. E. N. KIRK, of Boston, and Rev. Dr. PECK, secretaries.

Rev. Dr. Cox then read the formula to be signed by those desiring to become members of the Conference.

Dr. PATTON said that some confusion appeared to exist in the minds of the brethren present. They did not distinguish the Ecumenical, general alliance from the British branch. It might as well be spoken out—the plague spot was the slavery question. That question was not involved in the general organization, but in the British body it arose at Manchester; it was there laid down that no slave-holder should be a member. It could not be supposed that they were forming any intimate union with that particular alliance. In the general organization there were no special tests—all was clear sky there; the English branch had its own metes and bounds, as the American one would have.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—The part of the preamble originating with the committee in this country, was next read by Dr. Cox, who stated that it would be seen to refer to a single subject.

Dr. SCHMUCKER could not agree that they referred exclusively to slavery; Other sins existing under other institutions than slavery were also condemned.

Rev. Mr. KIRK would not resist his brethren as to these articles. He had agreed to similar ones in London.

Rev. Dr. BOND was in favour of the principle stated, and must testify to any conviction of truth, whatever its consequences. The Alliance was not formed to compromise opinions, but to find the essential points on which the different parties to it agreed. He was a Southern man, and knew no Christian at the South who did testify against the laws forbidding slaves to be taught to read. But if they did not do this, he could not compromise his duty. It was the first principle of the reformation that every man should have the Word of God, read it, and learn his duty from it. The Conference here was expected to do something as to slavery. It had been left for it to do. It could not be done in England. They expected this body to do it, and they could not get over the duty. They would not meet the expectations of the brethren in England if they avoided this subject.

Rev. Mr. CHANEY thought that the Alliance ought not to be confined to abstract principles, but should do something, otherwise there was no reason for forming such a union. If the Alliance should now shrink back from expressing itself on this subject he should regret it. All who were present, in their hearts, must revere and applaud Martin Luther for declaring the truth contained in the first article. There was call for it then, because the right of men was denied, and the Bible was kept from them. The same cause now existed. Millions are now in this country denied that right. It came home to them as a duty to declare it. An association such as the Alliance, hoping to exert any influence in the world, must also not shrink from expressing itself on the subject of the fifth article, on slavery.

Dr. Cox agreed that it was expected in England that the Alliance here should explicitly take up the subject of slavery. He recollected particularly that Sir Culling [Sir Culling Eardley Smith, the chairman of the meeting in London] said to him with great earnestness, "We leave this matter with you; we know you to be principled men; as you tell us there are considerations existing in America which we do not feel that should influence the mode of acting upon it, and we depend on you to do justice to it." But still he (Dr. Cox) thought that they must go by their own judgment.

Dr. SCHMUCKER was of the opinion that the Alliance should express

itself positively in regard to the benevolent movements of the day generally, without singling out the slavery question in particular.

After much discussion, the first four articles having been adopted, the further consideration of the fifth was postponed till to-morrow, and a committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. SCHMUCKER and Rev. Mr. KIRK, were appointed to arrange such new topics as should be taken up, and to prepare a suitable preamble for these new articles. And the Conference adjourned to this morning at nine o'clock.

The following are the new articles prepared with special reference to this country, and all bearing, as Dr. Cox said, directly upon the subject of slavery. The first four have been adopted, and the fifth is still undecided:—

In addition to the above the American Organization adopts the following principles, namely:—

1. That in accordance with the first and second of the Evangelical principles of the basis, it is the right of every individual man, throughout the world, to possess the word of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and obey that word for himself, under his responsibility to God, who has given him that revelation to be a lamp to his feet and a light to his path.

2. Inasmuch as he who is to read, and understand, and believe for himself the word of God, must have time to study it, and inasmuch as God has set apart one day in seven for such uses; therefore, it is the right of every man throughout the world to enjoy, and his duty to improve, the rest of the Sabbath, in abstaining from secular employments, and freely worshipping God and hearing the Gospel, and deliberately searching the Scriptures, to ascertain whether what he hears is according to the word of God.

3. That in accordance with the principles of individual liberty and Christian union, it is the right and the duty of believers in Christ to maintain his worship and ordinances in such forms as they, under the teaching of his word, his Spirit, and his Providence, shall judge to be in harmony with his will.

4. That as God has designed and given the Bible for the whole world, it is the right of every man throughout the world to learn to read the Bible; and that it is the right and the duty of all Christians to co-operate in the universal diffusion of the word of God.

5. Inasmuch as the peculiar circumstances of this country seem to demand an expression of sentiment on the subject of slavery, this Alliance declares that a discrimination is to be made between those who hold slaves, not by their own fault, or for the sake of their own advantage, but from motives entirely benevolent, and those who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage for the sake of gain; and that the former are to be regarded as entitled to fellowship, while the latter cannot be received as members of this Alliance.

Still the one object of the Alliance shall be steadily kept in view, which is not the promotion of temperance, nor the removal of slavery, or any other specific evil, however desirable those objects may be in themselves, but the promotion of Christian union and brotherly love.

SECOND DAY—THURSDAY, MAY 6TH.

The meeting was opened by Rev. Dr. LANSING.

The minutes of the proceedings of the day previous were read and approved.

Dr. SCHMUCKER from the Committee appointed to prepare a preamble to the special declaration of principles by the American Alliance, made a report (the three first paragraphs of which were adopted in the course of the forenoon), after setting forth the principles of union and liberty, and referring to benevolent movements generally, proposed the following as a substitute for the Fifth Article which we published yesterday.

ART. 6. Therefore, all those human institutions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, which violate these rights in any portion of the human family, or which obstruct the performance of any Christian duty, are necessarily sinful, and those who, amid the light and discussions of the present age, either approve of such institutions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, or practise the wrongs which they authorize, or fail to use their utmost influence to abolish them, participate in the guilt. And we feel ourselves required, by fidelity both to God and man, to decline receiving them into this Alliance, while we forbear to pronounce judgment on the religious character of individuals or to withdraw from them our sympathies.

[The article goes on to express sympathy for those who are still involved with slavery but are endeavouring to be free of it.]

Upon this there followed an interesting, though rather discursive debate, in relation to the previous existence of Christian Union in this country, Slavery, and the course to be pursued by the Alliance.

Dr. DEWITT moved to strike out of the Articles everything explicitly referring to slavery. He would succinctly state his reasons for doing so. The less the Alliance should assume a mixed position in regard to slavery the better. Now they must keep a single eye to the main object—to Christian union. Let them beware of dwelling on special points like this. The Report would transform the Alliance into an Anti-slavery Society. Slavery alone is made a test. Leaving other causes, it makes this one prominent. There was danger in thus becoming an Abolition

Society. Other matters were left to other Associations; there were associations to act against slavery. He would leave slavery to them. Let the Alliance be devoted to Christian union alone. That was a blessed cause, and, in pursuing it, they would discover how, and by what means to promote the glory of God and the good of man.

Dr. SCHMUCKER said, that there was much truth in the remarks of Dr. DeWitt. No part of the report, however, had a direct and exclusive reference to slavery except the last clause. The other parts were necessary for other reasons. He had no objection to acquiescing in the result of the deliberations of the Conference as to the manner of disposing of slavery.

Dr. LEWIS thought the report all consistent and proper till it came to slavery.

Rev. Mr. KIRK said, the great question was, after all, should they touch that subject of slavery? He thought they ought to face the question. If they would meet the expectations of the British Alliance they must do something on slavery.

Dr. SCHMUCKER had a deep impression, a conviction, that the interests of the society would be best promoted by letting slavery alone, till it came up regularly as the last question in the resolutions.

Dr. BAIRD said, that Christian union was a difficult and complicated subject. In forming such a union the question would arise, "How can Christian character be determined?"

Rev. Mr. KIRK wished to have two questions fairly brought before the Conference. These were,

1st. Shall other subjects than Christian Union be taken up?

2nd. Shall slavery be touched upon?

He would not wish to take up Christian liberty or any subject except Christian union, unless something were to be done about it. He then moved that when the Alliance should meet next week it should be advised to take up the subject of Christian liberty.

Dr. COX was in favour of leaving slavery alone, because to do so would relieve the Conference from embarrassment.

The CHAIR had been desirous to have the fundamental principles of the Alliance settled, and to know whether it was to receive into its bosom those who regarded slavery as the greatest blessing ever bestowed on man, who believed that the most dignified and good feelings of the heart was called out by it, as had recently been set forth in South Carolina.

Dr. BOND said that it was impossible to shun the slavery question. No action would be the most decisive action. If they took no action they must incur the reproach of being afraid. If they took action they must expect to make enemies. They could not, however, shun the question.

Dr. CHEEVER made a speech in favour of putting religious liberty forward as one of the particular objects of the Alliance.

Dr. BOND said there seemed to be a general fear that the Alliance might say something about slavery. He hoped the brethren would consent to take up the question directly and plainly. They could not avoid coming to it.

The Conference then took a recess, it being about one o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—(Dr. COX in the Chair.)—Rev. Mr. SANDFORD commenced the proceedings of the afternoon with a speech on slavery. He was of opinion that the sentiment of the South on the subject of slavery had changed for the worse within a few years past. There had been a natural re-action there against the Anti-slavery agitation. If the Alliance should say anything which could be construed to signify a desire to injure the interests of the South, the men of the South would seize upon it. But the Alliance might make a plain declaration on the subject, which would not produce any unfavourable effect. Many persons at the North would agree that slaves ought to receive a greater degree of literary instruction than they are now permitted. But by adding a word in relation to Christian liberty, or any other subject which should go further than that, they would be thought to take an attitude of direct hostility to the domestic institutions themselves of the South. Mr. Sandford went on to speak of the rupture in the M. E. Church on the subject of slavery. He thought it would not be doing any good to interfere in the domestic institutions of the South, but would do great harm. He knew that it was understood that they were all Anti-slavery men, but if they made any specific expression looking to practical operation, in opposition to slavery, they would, in his opinion, do wrong.

Rev. Dr. BOND could not understand why they might not set forth the first four propositions without taking up slavery at all. These propositions nobody would deny.

Rev. Mr. KIRK, at a proper moment, moved that the body take no action on the subject of slavery; but on suggestion of several members withdrew the motion to give way to the introduction of a resolution covering the same ground in positive terms.

Rev. Mr. CHANEY inquired if it were possible, in case the resolution of the Committee should pass, to introduce for discussion a test question on the admission of slaveholders.

Dr. PECK thought a simple declaration of sentiments would be more in accordance with the Constitution of the Alliance and wiser than a test.

Chief-Justice HORNBLLOWER would give an expression of his feeling about this delicate and peculiar institution, upon which so much had been said. They were met as members of the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance, and were laying down their fundamental law, and the principles by which they were to be governed. They had solemnly agreed to the doctrinal basis laid down in London. The question now was, whether they should superadd to that any specific declaration as to points of morals. Were polygamy allowed in any branch of the church in this country, in forming such an Alliance they would undoubtedly not feel authorized to receive into it any members of the church who received and practised polygamy. He did not feel called on to say whether he considered it wise to declare that they would not receive slaveholders into the Alliance. The question now was, whether they would go beyond the original purpose of the Alliance, and take up any other subject than that immediately contemplated by the Association. If the majority of the members were of opinion that they could not wisely take up the subject of slavery, he was ready to vote for the resolution proposed. But if, on the other hand, it should be thought right to take it up, and to pass such votes as would exclude slaveholders, he was ready to vote for that without fear of man. He had no fear on this subject, and could not withhold his testimony on this sin any more than on any other. He could not believe that there were any slaveholders from humanity or from necessity. He could not admit the distinction between those who held slaves from love of gain, and those who held them from motives of benevolence. He should as soon think of distinguishing between committing other crimes from motives of benevolence and selfishness. *No man could be compelled to hold slaves against his will.* The law might compel a man to maintain slaves, but could not compel him to exercise acts of ownership over them. How far it might be proper for the Alliance to introduce into its fundamental law a declaration that it would associate with slaveholders was a question. Perhaps the declaration of the principles might be enough to show what sort of men they wished to receive. Members would vote according to their views in these respects.

Dr. BOND did not wish to be precluded from a full discussion of slavery by the passage of any resolution. He was of opinion that the Alliance should take specific action on the subject of slavery. He would have the report laid on the table for the purpose of taking up the original fifth article.

Mr. KIRK hoped the house would take up the question of slavery, and look it right in the face.

Rev. Mr. WHELOCK suggested that they should not take up the resolutions, but consider the naked question of slavery.

Rev. Mr. HATFIELD said, his object was to get entirely rid of the question of slavery, and of all other similar questions. He would have the whole subject of moral reform excluded, and a merely doctrinal basis adhered to.

Rev. Mr. CHANEY was unwilling to detain the Conference, but agreed with Mr. Kirk that the question was whether the Alliance would take up the main question. He had a deep conviction that it was the duty of the Alliance to express itself decidedly on that question. He thought it impossible to evade such an expression. There were two conflicting demands in the society, to one of which it must yield. One was the demand of the principles of the Gospel and of humanity, demanding what attitude do you take in regard to the removal of the evils and wrongs connected with slavery? The other was the demand of the slave power to be let alone. The question had often been asked what has the Alliance to do with slavery? In his opinion, they had already had more to do with it than with any other subject whatever. They could not let it alone—they could not be let alone by it. To avoid the subject would be taking a step contrary to the promotion of union and brotherly love. He supposed the brotherly love to be promoted was such as should be in accordance with the Gospel. Yet he did not think it could be taken to mean a sort of complacency with each other's doctrines and views, which they might have, and do nothing whatever. It must be that love which would move them to imitate the Saviour in flying to the relief of the suffering and oppressed. That was the only real ground of Christian union. He would not say that a slaveholder could not be a Christian—but he would say that the law could not compel a man to be a slaveholder against his will. There were other considerations showing that it would be right for the Alliance to speak definitely on this subject; the eyes of the whole world were on them, and every movement would be critically watched, not only in Europe, but in this country.

Mr. CHANEY then read a letter from Rev. Jabez Burns, of England, in relation to the alleged promises of the American Delegation in London, to form an Alliance wholly free from the contamination of slavery. After some explanations on this subject from Drs. Patton, DeWitt, and Schmucker, in which the Rev. gentlemen differed totally as to their recollections with regard to such promises, Rev. Mr. Kirk read an

extract from a speech before the London meeting in relation to the point, that no pledge was made.

Mr. CHANEY went on to say, that if the Alliance should admit slaveholders, another American branch would be formed. He was of opinion that no body of religious men had a right to say to the Anti-Slavery reform, the Temperance reform, or any similar cause, "We turn our backs to you," unless they were also prepared to say at the same time that such movements had no connexion with the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Rev. Mr. GALPIN spoke in favour of Anti-slavery action.

Mr. CUSHMAN, a farmer of Otsego Co. was in favour of declaring against slavery.

The Conference after prayer by the Rev. Dr. LILLY then adjourned.

THIRD DAY—FRIDAY, MAY 7TH.

Rev. Dr. DEWITT presided at the devotional meeting in the morning.

The subject of slavery was again taken up, and the substitute for the fifth article, proposed by Mr. Chaney, was read as follows:—

"After the word that, in the third line, insert the following words:—'Believing the claiming and holding of our fellow-men as property to be wrong and sinful in all circumstances, and directly at war with the precepts of the gospel, we cannot receive as members of the Alliance those who practise this sin and wrong.'"

Dr. BOND opposed the substitute on the ground of its being too sweeping in its character. He believed that though many slaveholders were inexcusable there were others who sustained that relation innocently, and of necessity. Yet he would not fail to express a decided condemnation of slavery. He hated slavery, and he loved to hate it. The whole country suffered from this blot of slavery. At best it is a stain upon all parts of it; and besides, slavery is worse in this country than in any country on the globe. The slave laws of the Southern States are more intolerant than those of the Mahomedans. The laws of his own native state, Maryland, where slavery wore its mildest aspect, would disgrace the Dey of Algiers. Some decided testimony ought to be borne by the Alliance against a crime like this: yet in doing this, we should separate the precious from the vile.

Rev. Mr. KIRK spoke with great earnestness. It was a strange thing that this subject of slavery was introducing itself into every meeting—was like the frogs of Egypt. Nothing was put forward with such pertinacity. One was allowed to do nothing by associated action till slavery should be removed. Could they send missionaries to the heathen?—"No!" was the answer, "abolish slavery!" Could they meet for ecclesiastical purposes?—"No!" again—"remove slavery!" In the pulpit, indeed, it was possible to preach on other subjects, and in his closet he could pray for other blessings than the removal of slavery. But it was impossible for two men to associate together for any religious or benevolent purpose, but it would be thundered in their ears, "Just remove slavery!"

There was a great and general pressure, and to that the Alliance must yield. Not only was it forced upon them by men, but the very providence of God was leading on to it. They could not put it aside. If the Alliance should not declare itself, they would be misunderstood. They were forced to make a declaration. The question was a great one. It was enlisting great interests far and wide.

Mr. KIRK went on to speak of the state of feeling at the South. The churches there were exceedingly remiss; and there were members of the church there with whom he could not fellowship. There was such a general indifference to the moral evil of this practice, that he could not receive a member of a Southern church without first instituting a particular inquiry as to his views and practices on this subject.

Rev. Dr. PATTON thought that the spirit of the age, though not a ground of Christian action, was deserving of their serious consideration. It was the writing of God's finger, and should no more be disregarded by us than the commandments of the Decalogue. The signs of the times all show that slavery is the great question which is to shake this continent. The country will be convulsed with throes till it is thrown off. Dr. P. said it was difficult to frame any precise formula which would not be either too lax or too severe. There were slaveholders with whom he could never fraternize. He knew of some slaveholding ministers whom he would not introduce into his pulpit. He could hold no fellowship with men like one he knew, who had said he had as lief buy a Negro as a leg of mutton. But on the other hand there were those standing in that relation for whom great allowances were to be made—whose motives were not only free from fault, but really praiseworthy. It would be wrong to include in one sweeping condemnation characters so essentially different.

Rev. Dr. PECK was in favour of some action of the kind proposed, both because silence would be misinterpreted, and because a pledge to this effect had been given to the London Conference. It was there understood that if the subject of slavery was left out of the General Alliance the American local Alliance would see to it that proper action was taken.

In the afternoon of this day, the discussion was opened by Rev. Dr. Lewis, who strenuously deprecated any action at all on the subject.

Rev. GORHAM D. ABBOTT also opposed any action, and denied that any pledge had been given to the London Conference.

Rev. Dr. DEWITT feared that if the subject of slavery were singled out and specially alluded to, other kindred subjects might come up, and it would be necessary to make the Alliance speak out on all the moral and political subjects which divide the public mind. He was opposed to slavery; but if the Alliance should adopt a rule to exclude slaveholders, he, for one, should stand by the side of those at the South, who were groaning under the burden of slavery and praying over it.

CH. J. HORNBLLOWER then introduced a substitute for Mr. Chaney's resolution, which he prefaced by some remarks on the necessity of making a compromise, in order to bring all into harmony. The substitute was as follows:

"The meeting having freely and fully discussed the fifth Article of the proposed additional principles of the American Alliance, and the amendment thereto offered by Rev. Mr. Chaney, on motion, it was unanimously resolved, as the sense of this Conference, that it is inexpedient to adopt any other principles as the basis of the American Evangelical Alliance than the nine doctrinal Articles adopted by the Convention held in London in the month of August last, provided always, and it is hereby unanimously resolved, that the determination of this Conference to refrain from taking any action on the subject of slavery, and to adhere strictly to the one object of this Evangelical Alliance—namely, the promotion of Christian unity and love, and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, is not to be allowed or taken as evidence that any member of this Conference is favourable to the institution of slavery, or feels any indifference upon this subject, or that they can approve, sympathize, or mingle in Christian fellowship with those who are voluntary slaveholders for their own advantage."

Dr. BOND felt obliged to disagree to this amendment. He was very anxious to preserve the oecumenical character of the Alliance, and this could not be done without some definite action on slavery. It was impossible for the British and American Organizations to maintain fellowship with each other, unless some such action were taken in this country.

Rev. Mr. CHANEY spoke at length against the substitute. He was occasionally interrupted, but continued his remarks till the conclusion of the meeting. No action was taken this day on either proposition.

FOURTH DAY—SATURDAY, MAY 8TH.

Rev. Dr. Peck presided at the devotional exercises.

The subject of slavery being resumed at the business meeting, the first speech of any length was by Rev. Dr. Lansing, who took calm but decided ground against the admission of slaveholders into the Alliance. He was willing, however, for the sake of obtaining the desired union, to make a compromise somewhat on the plan proposed by Mr. Hornblower. Dr. Peck also acquiesced in such a measure. Rev. Mr. Wheelock was opposed to introducing the subject at all. Rev. Mr. Mann, of Salem, feared that it was not strong enough to exclude slaveholders. He could hold no fellowship with one who claimed property in man. Pres. Olin, of the Wesleyan University, was unprepared to vote for any of the propositions yet offered, and concluded a long and forcible speech by offering a substitute. The substitute was warmly opposed by Dr. Patton and others, but after some slight modifications prevailed by a vote of sixteen to eleven. The resolution finally adopted, and with the passage of which the meeting substantially closed, was as follows:—

"That while the Evangelical Alliance admits into its bosom such persons only as are respectable members of Evangelical Churches, we are, nevertheless, persuaded that the great object of the Association, the promotion of a larger Christian union may be furthered by a frank expression of our sentiments on the subject of slavery. We, therefore, declare our deep, unalterable opposition to this stupendous evil, and we hold it to be the duty of all men by all wise and Christian means to seek its entire extirpation and removal from the land. Still the one object of the Alliance shall be steadily kept in view, which is the promotion of Christian union and brotherly love."

We are very glad to learn that this declaration is not satisfactory to a large number of persons, and that there is a probability of the formation of a new Alliance, which shall exclude slaveholders. We hope, but doubt, that the influence of the leading men of the Orthodox Churches can be so far set aside, and their fiat braved.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Was celebrated on Tuesday afternoon, May 11th, at the Tabernacle. The exercises were commenced by reading from the Scriptures the third chapter of the book of Zephaniah, beginning, "Woe to her that is filthy and polluted, to the oppressing city. She obeyed not the voice, she received not correction; she trusted not in the Son; she drew not near to her God."

Prayer was then offered by the Rev. Mr. Cheney of the Baptist persuasion.

The Annual Report was then read by Mr. Lewis Tappan.

It began by alluding to the decease of distinguished Abolitionists in Europe and this country during the past year, and of the absence of the corresponding Secretary, Mr. Phelps, on account of ill health; in consequence of which all the plans devised last year have not been completed. Allusion was made to the efficient services of Mr. P. in times past, and of his recent return to this country. The publications issued during the year were mentioned, among them a German Anti-slavery Almanac, with an able address to the Germans in this country, by Dr. Carové of Germany. It was stated that in no year has there been so much discussion on the subject of slavery as during the past year; and the society were congratulated on the aspects of the cause and its prospects. * * *

Due regard was paid to the "Wilmot Proviso," and a hope was expressed that there would be many who would be firm, and refuse any longer to be the "white slaves" of southern "despots," or to be driven to the wall and nailed down like base money by the arrogant few, who have, for so many years, usurped the Government of the country.

Particular notice was taken of the Evangelical Alliance; and it was shown that General Jackson, if alive, and Mr. Clay, could be admitted, and the inquiry was started whether slaveholding should not be considered a *heresy*, and all slaveholders be excluded, of course.

It was shown by southern testimony that the slaves' moral condition had improved since the abolition excitement. Also that the people of colour were improving and paying more attention to the education of their children. Frederick Douglass was favourably noticed as an honour to the country. Honourable mention was also made of the "Society for Promoting the Use only of Free-labour Produce." It was stated that, in some parts of the country earnest inquiries are made, "Shall we give Bibles to three millions of American slaves?" The recent law of Pennsylvania, protecting coloured people, was mentioned with approbation; also the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Van Zandt case, in strong terms of regret and condemnation. And in this connexion, a passing eulogy was pronounced on Governor Seward and Mr. Chase, of Ohio, for their action on the subject. The establishment of the "National Era" newspaper at Washington, was spoken of as a subject of congratulation, and a hope expressed that it would ere long be a daily paper.

The movements in England, France, Denmark, &c., with reference to the slave-trade and its ally, slavery, were detailed. It was stated that while the President had promptly pardoned several persons engaged in the slave-trade, the lamented Torrey had been suffered to die in prison for helping a few slaves to acquire their liberty. * * *

S. P. Andrews, of Boston, then addressed the meeting. He was happy to hear, from the Report, that the prospects of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society were encouraging, a fact that should make us grateful to the Almighty disposer of events. We were much farther on our way to emancipate humanity than we were a twelvemonth ago; and he proposed considering one or two reasons why slavery should be abolished. First, he was now, more than ever, firmly convinced that slavery at the present day, in the Southern States, was a greater incongruity than it ever had been before. In illustration of what he stated, he said that just in proportion to the wealth, the political power, and the intellectual enlightenment of the slaveholder was the endurance of slavery wherever it existed. In other lands, less advanced in civilization than ours, where slavery was tolerated, the condition of the slave was infinitely better; for there the slow progress of the whites towards general enlightenment in some degree tended to conceal from the poor African the depth of his degradation. It was different in the United States, however; here, the progress of the arts, and the march of intellect, day after day developing itself in every section of our land, only served the more to make him sensible of his miserable state.

He assured the hearers that those at the South who were the loudest in denouncing Abolitionism, least knew what public sentiment was at their own doors. * * *

At the South there were many secret abolitionists,—men who, the state of society was such, dared not openly emancipate their own slaves; but yet these kindred drops floating and mingling into one, would yet unite and become an avalanche, which one day would proclaim in thunder tones universal freedom and human rights from Maine to Louisiana—or, he should say, Texas, or Mexico, or any other land at which our "ETERNAL" country might please to stop!

Rev. Mr. GARNET, (black) of Troy, was then introduced, and after descanting upon a resolution he had offered, went on in most eloquent terms, to aver that every tear the slave sheds now, will be avenged hereafter. The children of Africa, scattered as they were all over the world, unnumbered, appealed to America for redress—that America whose sails whiten every sea, and whose diplomatic parchment is lying in every court, Oh! that that proud America would cast her eye towards down-trod Africa, whose bony hand was outstretched, in tears and agony, imploring comfort in affliction. But he desired not to gaze upon the gloomy side of affairs. The damning guilt of slavery hung like a pall over this country. But for the cause of freedom a bright hope is arising, and one that is brightening every day. Let us turn away from the clouds that shroud

African freedom, to the bright spirit of liberty descending from above. For what have we laboured? We have progressed that we might progress; we have toiled that we might overcome: we have fought that we might subdue.

Freedom will prevail. The question of slavery was now the first subject in Congress; it was the first consideration of the Evangelical Society; it was first and uppermost in every public body. Its murdered ghost would not be silenced nor appeased. Bleeding Africa holds up her hand in imploring anguish, and cries to the world: Give me my children, and my rights! Nothing now could impede the progress of abolition; it has advanced too far, and "Young Africa" is in the field, and he may be seen here to-day emerging from the dim clouds that so long have involved him in darkness and gloom. In one hand he holds the charter of his rights, and with the other grasps the brightest stars in the constellation of liberty.

Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT read a resolution, which called upon Christians to supply slaves with the Bible. This, he observed, was a work which must be done, and God would open the door, as soon as we were prepared to enter. The question has often been asked, "When is the gospel to abolish slavery?" "When was it to begin?" The Scriptures, it hath been said, were the charter of human liberty, and had given freedom to the world. But why had they not given freedom to the slave? This nation has now been seventy years in existence—an age much longer than other republics had ever attained; all that time it has had the Bible,—yet slavery has been gradually from year to year gaining strength, till at the present day it may be said it has possession of the Government; it has been strong enough to involve us in a war—professedly for the extension of its execrable institution—a war, the end of which no man can foresee, and the cost of which no financier dares venture to cast up. Looking at slavery in its own domain, it never was so potent as now, never so able to protect itself, never so able to crush its foes. And yet we are told that the gospel is to abolish slavery! He would ask, how came we to be a free enlightened nation, if we had not had the gospel? If our ministers are the ministers of Satan, how came we here, so unlike our savage ancestors, who had no Bible? If we have not got the gospel, where is it? To whom shall we call for help? A simple circumstance would explain the whole affair: We have fore sworn the Protestant faith! We have refused the slave the Bible.

A set of resolutions were now offered, stating that the discrimination sought to be made between those who hold slaves from benevolence and selfishness, was absurd: that the pretence that the Bible sanctions slavery was blasphemous and infidelity; that it is the right of every man, bond or free, to own and read the Bible, that "*conscience Whigs*" and "*independent Democrats*" are invited to join the "Liberty party," and free the country from slavery and subjection to southern "despots;" recommending the publication of the Slave Laws, or work on the agriculture and mechanic arts of the south, as compared with those of the north; rejoicing that Anti-slavery Missionary Societies have been formed; that the war with Mexico is one in which no attribute of the Almighty can take part with us; thanking those editors and ministers of the gospel who have spoken out against the war, and saying it was the duty of every minister and editor to do the same; approving the liberty party, and declaring that it would, under no circumstances, vote for a slaveholder; hailing the efforts of abolitionists in foreign lands; sympathizing with the people of colour, bond and free; lamenting the ignorance, prejudice, delusion, and wickedness of slaveholders; and quoting the warnings of the Scriptures, with reference to them and their iniquity.

Rev. W. PATTEN rose and read a resolution, animadverting rather severely upon the course of the American Delegates to the London Evangelical Convention, on the question of slavery. He said the 10th of August last was a day ever to be remembered with mortification by the Christian world. The flower of the British and American ministry there met in council—at first in a spirit of the greatest harmony; that harmony continued to prevail so long as theoretical Christianity was discussed, but when practical Christianity was broached their concordance of action and identity of feeling were severed. The American clergy there contended that the cause of the slave should not be heard; and, after it was heard, they remonstrated. Why, he would ask, was such opposition shown? But the mystery was explained when it was known whence the opposition came. The men who went across the ocean to the Alliance, were those who (with a few honourable exceptions), had ever been fighting against the Anti-slavery cause; men who would never allude to the subject in their pulpits at home; and therefore he was not surprised that their hatred of freedom should be reiterated at London. They went there only to justify their cause, the cause of slavery; for they knew well that were that respectable body of divines to condemn the institution, and resolve to exclude those who tolerated it, the world ever afterwards would curse it and them likewise. A distinguished minister, the other day, in the debates of the American branch of the Alliance, here complained, that the subject of slavery was always pertinaciously thrust forward in our religious conventions, as well as in our legislative bodies, and it tended only to distract and embarrass their action. Such an assertion he pronounced slanderous. Every Benevolent Society, he contended, should adhere to its proper

object; but in the pursuit of their mission should they all arrive at a confluence, upon some great evil, such as slavery, it was the duty of one and all to stand up and endeavour to destroy it.

Rev. Mr. WARD, (black, who presides over a white congregation in the west), then addressed the meeting. He thanked God that abolition principles had been so widely disseminated. He complained that the people of this country who had opposed the Anti-slavery movement, never yet invited discussion. They would not meet the question fairly; not they! When it was first broached, how was it met? By mobs and threats, insult, and abuse. The glorious movement was begun by a mere handful of men and women,—twenty-three living men and twenty-three living women, were all that could be found to take part in it, and they were mobbed and burnt in effigy. But since that time a great change has been wrought. Whigs and Democrats, every sect, and every party now, were obliged to meet the question. It was now discussed in the halls of that Congress, which, only a few years ago, by its gag rule, prohibited debate on the subject. Men who sat in council in the Capitol, with a salary of \$8 per day, (and they never earned their wages more honestly than in investigating the evils of slavery), saw that the question must be met, and fairly met. Men are here to-day who live in the shade of Bunker-hill, and to them he appealed, "Shall the constitution be established?" 'Twas heard in the wild shrieks of the rabble in 1834; it was written on every flame that wrapped Pennsylvania Hall. The great question was, Whether or not liberty or slavery shall prevail in America? It was not yet settled; unsettled in Congress; unsettled, now, alas! upon the gory plains of unhappy Mexico; where slavery was marching on to the Aztec Capital! But it will one day be settled by him who holds the destinies of nations in his hand.

In conclusion, he begged his friends to maintain their principles; to remain unflinchingly in their present proud position; and improve every opportunity to advance. By the memories of the slaughtered Lovejoy and the murdered Torrey—and in the name of the sainted Wright, I conjure you to press on; I beseech you in the name of God and humanity to march forward and grapple with the enemies of American liberty. Never let us give up till death or victory end the contest.

The meeting then adjourned.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held on the 11th of May, W. L. Garrison in the Chair.

After the reading of the Report, and the Treasurer's Account, which stated the receipts of the year to be \$8,797, Mr. Wendell Phillips offered the following resolution:—

Resolved—That the duty of every American is to give his sympathy and aid to the anti-slavery movement; and the first duty of every citizen is to devote himself to the destruction of the Union and the Constitution, which have already shipwrecked the experiment of civil liberty, and bid fair to swallow up the hopes of every honest man in a worse than military despotism; assured that out of the wreck, we may confidently expect a State which will unfold, in noble proportions, the principles of the declaration of independence, whose promises made us once the admiration of the world.

This resolution was advocated with great earnestness by Mr. P., the leading features of his address having reference to the two alleged bulwarks of American slavery, the American church, and the American constitution.

W. L. Garrison then rose and referred at some length to the labours of Douglass in this country, and dilated, in unmeasured terms, on the conduct of the agents of Cunard's line. The cry for Douglass having become general, Mr. Garrison gave way.

Frederick Douglass, on rising, was received with applause. He moved the following resolution:—

Resolved—That slavery is a system so demoralizing and inhuman, so impious and atheistical, so hostile to the cause of liberty and Christianity throughout the world, that to seek its immediate extinction in this and every other country where it is tolerated, is the right and the duty of the people of all nations, by all proper instrumentalities. The resolution concluded with acknowledgments to the friends of the slave in this country for their earnestness in the cause.

He entered at length into the character of his labours in England, and the pleasing reception he met with on every hand, and the encouragements he had received to increased effort in the good cause.

His address was listened to with attention, and received with enthusiasm. The meeting then terminated.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.

We have been favoured by a correspondent at Sierra Leone with the following account of the capture and destruction of the slaver, *Tres Amigos*, a Brazilian brig of 415 tons, with ten officers and forty-six men, by Her Majesty's steam-sloop *Devastation*, R. Levinge, commander.

"On the morning of March 19th, being in latitude 5°30' north, long.

3°10' E. of Greenwich, the *Devastation* chased a suspicious looking brig, which, on seeing her, immediately made all sail, and ran in towards the land. After a chase of 5h. 30m., with all sail set, and making eighteen revolutions in the minute, firing the long-gun loaded with shot, at 10h. 45m. the stranger hoisted a Brazilian ensign at the main, and in a quarter of an hour from that time, she ran upon the beach near the river Lagos, in lat. 6°20' N., long. 3°10' E. of Greenwich. Two boats were seen to leave the brig filled with men, who escaped to the shore. The steamer having come close up and anchored, immediately manned and armed her boats, and sent them to board, under command of first Lieutenant P. M. Godfrey, with acting-Lieutenant J. Carmichael, and Mr. T. Coutts, boatswain. They found the brig well armed, two long eighteen-pounders on pivots, one between the mast and the other abaft the mainmast; two broadside guns forward (eighteen-pounders) and two brass swivels on the bulwarks of the quarter-deck; also nettings to repel boarders; ammunition, muskets, cutlasses, blunderbusses,—in fact, every kind of weapon for defending a vessel.

"The surf was very dangerous, one of the boats of the *Devastation* being dashed to pieces alongside the slaver, and the crew washed ashore; one also upset, and was driven ashore by the rollers, and the brig, in a short time, became a total wreck. The officers and men, after cutting away the masts with their cutlasses, found it necessary to swim ashore for their lives. The brig parted amidships. One marine was lost in trying to swim ashore.

"The man who had been looking out at the mast-head of the slaver was seen in the surf, heavily ironed, having been thrown overboard by the captain for not keeping a better look-out and seeing the cruiser before. The *Devastation's* crew tried to save the poor fellow, but his irons took him down. The surf ran so high as to make it quite impossible to get off to the *Devastation*, so the men had to remain ashore till the next morning, when the paddle-box boat was anchored at the back of the surf, and the dingy being well buoyed-up with cork fenders and bunkers, was veered ashore by hauling lines. After various attempts which proved successful in embarking the men, they were all got off. The French man-of-war brig *Leger* rendered every assistance in trying to get the men off. Too much praise cannot be given to the captain, officers, and ship's company of this brig for their valuable services.

"All the prisoners, ten in number, who were found on board the brig were saved.

"The *Devastation* has also taken an American brig under Brazilian colours, with 520 slaves on board, bound to Rio.

"The *Tres-Amigos* had made several successful trips from the coast. On the last voyage she landed at Bahia 1,400 slaves."—*Times*, June 26th.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE SLAVE TRADE.—Negroes have become the only reliable staple of the tobacco-growing sections of Virginia—the only reliable means of liquidating debts, foreign and domestic. They are sold here by hundreds, under the hammer of the auctioneer. The domestic cannot compete with the southwestern demand for them, for the plain reason, that the tobacco-grower cannot make one-half of one per cent. per annum upon slave-labour, whilst the cotton and sugar-planters make, perhaps, from fifteen to twenty per cent.

There is in this undeniable statement of facts much matter for serious, if not melancholy, reflection. But it is not my purpose to enlarge upon this subject. My principal object is, to call the attention of the people of Virginia to the foul game which some of the southern banks are playing upon us. Our Negroes are going by hundreds, yea, thousands, to the southwest; and what are we getting in return for them? Look around you, and see, fellow-citizens! We are trading off our slaves, whom we have nurtured through infancy; we are parting with them at a time of life when they have become able to help us "work for a living," and receiving as compensation for them a precarious paper currency, issued by the North Carolina and South Carolina banks!—*Richmond, Va., U. S.*

Mr. Wise, American minister to Rio Janeiro, states that the United States schooner, *Enterprise*, which was condemned at the Brooklyn Navy Yard two years ago, has made three successful voyages to Africa after slaves, and is now on the fourth. She sold for 1,500 dollars, and in three months cleared her owners, to his knowledge, 9,500 dollars.

AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.—Three thousand new Africans are imported annually through Texas into Louisiana, &c., feloniously, according to United States law. Fifty thousand native American citizens, some of them whiter than their masters (and this class of orthodox colour is constantly increasing), have been, for a number of years past, bought and sold like beasts, in the States south of Pennsylvania, feloniously, according to God's law. Of this infernal slave-trade, Washington, to which you send, Christian reader, your representative, is the metropolis.—*True Wesleyan (American).*

The following advertisements are taken from the *American Beacon* of the 21st ult., a paper published at Norfolk, Virginia:—

"Cash for Negroes.—I will pay the highest cash prices for likely young Negroes of both sexes, from ten to thirty years of age. All those that have such to dispose of would do well to give me a call before selling. I will also attend to shipping of Negroes to any of the southern ports free of charge when left with me, as I have a private jail for the safe keeping of servants. For further information inquire at my office, at Union Hotel, Union-street, or through the post-office.—G. W. APERSON."

"Negro Repository.—The undersigned has, at a very considerable expense, erected and fitted up, in a style of comfort and convenience, a commodious two-story building, in Union-street, second door east of Church-street, for the safe keeping and accommodation of Negroes, both male and female (the apartments being entirely separate), which are brought to this market for sale. This building is admirably adapted to the object proposed, having airy and pleasant rooms, and every convenience which could be desired, besides large yards, walled in high, a spacious cistern, &c., which, whilst they secure the comfort of the Negro, likewise guarantee the most ample security for his safe keeping. In addition to boarding Negroes for sale, the undersigned purposes, keeping on hand from time to time, for sale, such Negroes as may be in demand in this market, embracing every description of house and field hands, male and female, young and old, that may be called for, and upon terms entirely accommodating. Besides the boarding and the selling of Negroes, he will also make exchanges, giving or receiving such boot as the difference in age, character, qualifications, and appearance may justify. The highest cash market prices given for Negroes of both sexes, at all times.—WM. W. HALL."

MARYLAND.—*Torrey-ism.*—The Baltimore correspondent of the *National Era* mentions an occurrence which shows that Torrey-ism is not dead in Maryland, by the death of its founder, and that the martyr Torrey, "though dead, yet speaketh" to the understanding heart and happy experience of the slave:—

"Doubtless you have observed an unusual number of 'Runaway Slave' advertisements in the daily papers of this city, within a few days. It is interesting to observe two new features of these announcements—first, the enormous rewards offered, seemingly in consciousness of the increasing difficulties of arrest, growing partly out of the odiousness of the slave-catching business; and secondly, the particular pains taken to convey the idea that sundry 'scars,' &c., have been caused otherwise than by cruelty of treatment."

SLAVERY DISCUSSION.—The same writer refers to the continued discussions of the *Baltimore Lyceum*:—

"I had intended to speak in this letter of several matters for which I find I have no room—among them, a debate before the most spirited of our *Lyceums*, the 'Monumental,' on the question: 'Should slaveholders be compelled, by law, to educate their slaves?' It was opened last evening, in a spirit which showed that the members are fully alive to the importance of the subject, in all its bearings. Some of the speeches were very able, bold, and searching. The discussion is to be continued. If in town at the time of the next meeting—which is very doubtful, as I am very anxious to be in New York early in 'Anniversary Week'—I shall attend and report progress on this important and indicative discussion. At all events, the decision which the Lyceum may make thereon shall be made known to your numerous readers, most of whom, doubtless, are eager to be kept advised of all such unerring signs of the times."

CAPTAIN FLOWERY.—The *New York Commercial Advertiser* remarks upon the pardon of Captain Flowery:—

"The President, it may be observed, remits the *fine*, as well as the imprisonment, not, we presume from its connection with the prisoner's health, but for 'divers other' reasons.—It is worthy of remark, too, that when representations were made to another executive officer, that Mr. Torrey was dying from the effects of his imprisonment, they were not permitted to arrest his sentence. 'Circumstances alter cases'—Southern men can perceive a wonderful difference between catching slaves contrary to law and liberating slaves contrary to law."

OHIO.—*Slave Hunt.*—The slaveholders who passed this place two weeks ago to capture some "property" at Randolph, are said to have been signally defeated. They found, in the house of a colored man, their alleged fugitives, but had to endure the mortification of returning without them, after a personal interview with them of an hour or two, in the house of a colored family.

The house was soon besieged by four or five score of good-natured Yankees, who came up whistling and whistling till every avenue was literally blockaded; and the strangers, as soon as they had summoned chivalry sufficient to face the formidable army without, quietly took their seats in their vehicles, and amid the cheers of the multitude, joined by the unawed fugitives, moved off in the direction of the "Old Dominion" at a much better speed than they came.—Thus ended a bloodless and very profitless, but truly ludicrous and interesting slave hunt.—*Salem (Ohio) Register*, 11th inst.

CHINESE LABOURERS.—By private advices from China we learn that Spanish vessels from Manilla had been at Amoy, for the purpose of procuring Chinese labourers to proceed to Cuba, to be employed as Coolies on estates. Their contracts are, we believe, for terms of seven or ten years, at three dollars per mensem, and rice and fish found them. The Spanish agents are said to have found no difficulty in procuring as many men as they required. We are doubtful whether this mode of paying the coolies will be found as advantageous to their employers as giving them a small direct interest in the produce of their labour; but, perhaps, there may be difficulties attending the adoption of such a plan, especially at first. If it is considered desirable to send coolies from Amoy and Cuba, where there is such a command of slave labour, we should think they would be found very desirable auxiliaries to the planter in the British West Indies, and much superior to the Indian labourers, who are being at present sent there from India.—*Singapore Free Press*.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—*Arrival of Immigrants.*—The ship *Athenian* of 673 tons burthen, commanded by Captain John Boyndz, arrived in the harbour of Falmouth, on the 2nd instant, and, on inquiry, we learnt that she had on board 333 Hill Coolies, whose services have been engaged by the proprietors of several estates in the parishes of Trelawney and St. James. The novelty of a vessel, with a cargo of human beings from a strange and distant land, attracted to the wharfs of this town a considerable number of inhabitants, who, anxious to gratify their curiosity, hired boats in which they embarked, for the purpose of personally inspecting the "new labourers," who have visited our shores. The *Athenian* was out 140 days from Madras, and stopped two days each, at St. Helena and Port Morant. At the latter place she called for orders. The Coolies are a good-looking set of people, their ages varying from one to forty-six years, and we understand that there are among them seventy-five females, and seventy children. During the voyage, there were nineteen deaths from cholera and dysentery, but we are glad to announce that there is not at present the least appearance of disease on board.—*Falmouth Post*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—*Arrival of Immigrants.*—We have to report another arrival of Coolies, by the *Lysandra*, from Madras, having on board 267. The vessel is of so great a draught of water, that if she came into the river, she should not get out again till the springs. The Coolies were therefore landed in schooners on Saturday, and are already located on estates.

After a passage of eighty-six days, the *Candahar* arrived here yesterday from Calcutta with 240 Coolies. Eleven deaths occurred on the passage, all of men. The *Candahar* has not brought her full number, which ought to have exceeded, allowing five passengers to every three tons, 380 souls.

The *John Willis*, arrived on the 24th from Madeira, with 75 immigrants.

The ship, *Sophia Saxon*, eighty-nine days from Calcutta, with 255 immigrants, ten of whom died on the passage, on the 27th instant.—

And the *Thetis* arrived on the 7th of May, with 309 Coolies from Madras.—*G. Times*.

THE COOLIES.—We must leave our home readers, for whose exclusive benefit, we copy the following Government notice, from the official *Royal Gazette*, of British Guiana:—we repeat, we must leave our home readers to judge, after reading it, whether the Coolies brought hither from Hindostan, are trepanned to a state of slavery or not; we at least are utterly at a loss for the term by which to express the meaning of the word "LIBERTY," if their's be at all worthy the name.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

The attention of the stipendiary magistrates is particularly requested to prevent the separation of Coolie families. A case has recently come to the Governor's knowledge in which man and wife, children and parents, were separated after their location had been fixed by the immigration agent-general. His excellency therefore desires the stipendiary magistrates will be vigilant in preventing the recurrence of such an irregularity.

By Command, W. B. WOLSELEY, Act. Gov. Sec. Guiana Public Buildings, April 28th, 1847.

Let it also be borne in mind, that it is in prospect for every week the Coolie may not be in the field, a forfeit shall be paid of a certain sum, either by himself from whatever other source of industry he may be able to raise so shameful a tax, or by whoever, except a planter, may engage his services; besides which, efforts are now being made, to deprive him of an opportunity to return to his native home, as engaged to him, at the end of five years. Test such liberty by the British constitution. Will it not better suit the latitude of the southern states of America. Alas for Coolie liberty in the emancipated Guiana!—*Congregational Record*, May 7th.

TRINIDAD.—We have been blessed, says the *Trinidad Standard*, with the most delightful weather throughout the month, and everything wears a smiling aspect. The sugar-making operations have proceeded with every satisfaction, and a large quantity of produce has been already shipped, as will appear from our produce returns, while a still larger

quantity is ready for shipment. Vessels are still very scarce, and those which are available ask very high freights. Estates supplies are also in consequence scarce. We have not only to report in the most favourable terms with regard to the present crop, but we have the further gratification of stating that a cheering prospect is afforded with regard to the next crop, if we may be allowed to build our anticipation on the present flourishing and promising condition of the young canes. The weather is excessively hot, but we are glad to state that the Island is quite healthy at the present time. On the 18th ult. and on the 3rd inst. we had shocks of earthquake. The want of proper regulations for the Coolies is every day more and more apparent. Many of these are wandering about the country in a state of wretchedness, not from want of employment, but on account of their own unsettled habits, and indolent disposition. There is abundant employment for them if they will take it.

Coolie immigration presents among us many ugly features. We have frequently to behold scenes of misery and wretchedness connected with it, which ought never to appear in a land like this. Groups of human beings are seen but too often in our highways, who seem to have no shelter but the trees, no resting place but the bare hard earth, exposed alike to the burning sun and the drenching rain. We have seen the squalid mother and her pining child, slumbering on the stony pavement, huddled together, as if enjoying the luxury of such a rest; and we have been accosted for an alms by attenuated figures, in accents which required no interpreter, although uttered in an unknown tongue; in fact, these scenes are so common that we cannot help feeling ashamed of ourselves, when we think that the smallest fraction of money has been drawn from our resources, for the support of such a disgraceful and degrading scheme. We are glad to think, however, that it is drawing to a close, and that a more useful system will ere long supply its place. The African immigration scheme proposed by Government, has this much to recommend it, that the people imported will be better suited to the supposed wants of the colony. We purpose looking more closely at this measure, by and by, as the chief part of our immigration tactics we unequivocally condemn.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION.—The Coolies arrived by the *Duke of Bedford*, appear to be hanging somewhat heavy on the hands of Government; and without official information, we are at a loss to know the reason of their being thus left so long idle in town. Do not the planters cry aloud for labourers? Have they not been those of their own choosing? Have not the pockets of the people been dipped into to procure this supply? And are they now to be left to themselves an outrage on decency, and a nuisance in our streets? We believe the planters have come to a conclusion, regarding these people, similar to our own—that they are not the kind of labourers required for this colony—and that the sooner this system of immigration is put an end to, the better; but some of these good gentlemen may not like to utter such opinions, lest they should thus give unwilling support to our doctrine, that the funds of the colony are being squandered away to the infliction of an evil, the extent of which it is not yet easy to see.

Since we began these remarks we see that the Coolies from the *Duke of Bedford* have been in some way disposed of—at least they have apparently left their lodgings on the Almond walk. We think it the duty of the party who brings the immigrants, to provide for their accommodation. The Government being the party here, ought not to subject the inhabitants to such an annoyance as this in the very centre of the town.—*Trinidad Spectator*, May 12th.

GRENADA.—The weather continues highly favourable to the planters, and the appearances of the crop were most satisfactory, indicating an improvement in the agricultural condition of the colony. "We are gratified to learn," says the *Chronicle*, "that the present crop promises to exceed the expectation previously entertained of it by even the most sanguine and bids fair to be nearly double that of last year. It is at present but half reaped, and we understand that upwards of eighty hogsheads have already been made on one or two properties which did not ship half that number last year. The increase will be general, although, perhaps, not in the same proportion, or to the same extent, as the cases we have noticed. It is, however, confidently expected that the total crop of sugar this year will be from 9,000 to 10,000 hogsheads. Last year it did not reach 6,000."

The ship, *Leguan*, Brown, master, in twenty-eight days from Madeira, arrived here on Sunday morning last. By this vessel, forty-two immigrants (eleven families) have arrived. They are all in good health, having stood the passage well, and such, we understand, has been the kind treatment of Captain Brown to them, that it was gratifying to witness the affecting manner in which they clung around him to bid him good-bye on leaving his ship.

We entreat our planters to consider and ascertain perfectly whether this description of labourers will answer the purposes for which they are

imported. They are, no doubt, quite ready to leave Madeira, and may be easily procured, but are they the people to carry on permanently and efficiently, the cane cultivation? If not, they will ultimately become squatters and travelling hucksters, and their importation will prove anything but advantageous to the country. Let the planters pause a little, and ascertain whether the African may not be procured, before they incur further expense in importing more Portuguese.—*St. Geo. Chronicle*.

ANTIGUA.—*Immigrants from Madeira.*—Of the 350 arrived last week, the most pleasing accounts have reached us. Their submissive deportment and patient application to continuous labour promise the utmost satisfaction to their employers; whose interest will be considerably promoted by the command of labour at this particular juncture, when the canes are yielding large returns of saccharine matter; and which would have suffered severely from the prevailing dry weather but for the timely assistance that has been thus happily afforded.

TOBAGO.—The weather continued favourable to the planters. "On some estates," the *Watchman* says, "they are putting in the Spring plant, a thing which, for years past, could not have been done before May or June. The crop will be fully one third more than last year's. Labour is not scarce; and we have the satisfaction of stating, that, on a few estates, the labourers have given work on Saturdays. A steady perseverance on the part of those in charge, will no doubt in time have the effect of adding the Saturday to the number of working days on estates."—

Miscellanea.

According to information recently received from the Gold Coast, Western Africa, the Governor has proceeded on a journey to Dahomi, accompanied by the Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, for the purpose of making arrangements with the king for the suppression of the slave-trade throughout his dominions. Great hope is entertained of the successful result of the negotiation. At his first visit to Dahomi, Mr. Freeman explained to the king the evils of the slave-trade, and the benefits of legitimate commerce; and received from the king the assurance of his willingness to abandon the one for the sake of the other, in evidence of which, he dictated a letter to the Queen of England, which Mr. Freeman was intrusted to transmit, requesting her Majesty to take measures for affording him and his people the advantages of a healthful commerce, that they might be enabled to abandon the trade in human beings, which, until something better might be substituted, was their chief means of subsistence. Subsequent events have shown that Mr. Freeman retains the confidence of the king: in the case of a misunderstanding between the king and the late Governor of the Gold Coast, the king sent expressly to request that Mr. Freeman would pay him another visit, in order that the matters in dispute might be satisfactorily and peacefully adjusted. We are happy to learn, on high authority, that the slave-trade is on the decline; and all the friends of humanity will rejoice at such an important further check being given to it, as will result from the suppression of the accursed traffic by the King of Dahomi, he having been, up to the present time, its principal support in the Bight of Benin.—*Watchman*.

The *Constitutionnel* mentions, as a report, that the Portuguese Government had agreed to transfer one of its possessions on the coast of Africa to Great Britain, in consideration of a certain sum of money.

COTTON (INDIA).—From a return published by order of the House of Commons, it appears that the gross total quantity of cotton shipped at the port of Calcutta, to all parts of the world beyond the Presidency of Fort William, amounted in 1844-45 to 201,873 maunds (value, 2,018,736 rupees). The quantity shipped at Madras amounted in 1843-44 to 341,900 cwts. (value, 5,422,282 rupees). The quantity shipped at Bombay amounted in 1845-46 to 109,006,628 lbs. (value 11,148,357 rupees).

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
<i>London.</i> —Fitzjames, A.		1 1 0
<i>Liverpool.</i> —Ladies' A. S. Society.	10 0 0	
<i>Birmingham.</i> —Southall, Thomas		2 0 0
Shorthouse, Rebecca		1 0 0
Stokes, Rev. Mr.		0 10 0
<i>Falmouth.</i> —Fox, Elizabeth		1 0 0
Fox, Charlotte		0 10 0
<i>Newcastle.</i> —Beaumont, William	10 0 0	1 1 0
<i>Plaistow.</i> —Sturge, Rebecca		0 10 0
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<i>Halstead.</i> —Jesup, James		0 10 0
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<i>Bristol.</i> —Charlton, James, Esq., Executors of, less duty	90 0 0	